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THE
L I V E S
OF THE
FIRST TWELVE CÆSARS,
TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN
OF
C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS:
WITH
A N N O T A T I O N S,
AND
A R E V I E W
OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND LITERATURE
OF THE DIFFERENT PERIODS.
BY ALEXANDER THOMSON, M. D.

L O N D O N ;

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P R E F A C E.

CAIUS Suetonius Tranquillus, whose History is here translated, was the Son of a Roman Knight, and enjoyed for some time the place of Secretary to the Emperor Hadrian; but was afterwards dismissed from the Court, for behaving disrespectfully to the Empress Sabina. In his Retirement he composed several historical Works, of which the Lives of the First Twelve Cæsars are the only One now extant. As a Writer, he comprehends in his Character a Mixture of good Qualities and Blemishes. In the Arrangement of his Subject, he is peculiarly methodical, his Style is plain and unaffected, and his Narrative every where appears to be in the highest degree faithful.

Of two Kinds of Blemishes, for which he is conspicuous, One, namely, his minute Recital of Omens, is a Fault of the Times in which he lived, rather than any particular Superstition in Himself: for the Other, which is Indelicacy of Expression, on many Occasions, he has too justly incurred the Censure, of having written the Lives of the Cæsars with a Degree of Licentiousness equal to that of their own Conduct. But those who are acquainted with the Language of this Author, will observe, that his objectionable Expressions have been softened, and, in one or two places, necessarily suppressed, in the Translation.

Let it however be acknowledged, that a Version of Suetonius, though a valuable Historian, was only a secondary Object with the present Translator, whose principal Design was, to examine the State of Literature amongst the Romans, with greater Care and Precision than has hitherto ever been attempted. Almost all the Latin Classic Writers flourished in the Periods which form the Subject of Suetonius's History; and a Translation of it, therefore, seemed a proper Vehicle for conducting such an Enquiry.

Could a Display of the Merits and Defects of those celebrated Writers, upon a larger Scale, have been rendered compatible both with the Gratification of Curiosity, and public Convenience, it was the Author's Wish, to have adopted a more extensive Plan; but it seemed more advisable, on those Accounts, to contract the Detail, and restrain within narrower Limits the Scope of critical Observation.

In the Chronological View now exhibited of the Subject, he has endeavored not only to form a just Estimate of Roman Literature, and ascertain the Causes which carried it to such a Degree of Perfection; but to elucidate the State of Government, and the Progress of Manners, in those Times. He has, likewise, it is presumed, corrected various Misrepresentations of Biographers, and Errors of Commentators.

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THE LIFE

OF

DIVUS * JULIUS CÆSAR.

I. JULIUS Cæsar, at the decease of his father, had not completed the sixteenth year of his age. Next year, he was elected Flamen Dialis †, or priest of Jupiter; when repudiating Cossutia, who was only of an equestrian family,

* The hyperbolical epithet of Divus, the *Divine*, had formerly been conferred upon Romulus, through the policy of the Patricians, to obviate a suspicion entertained by the people, that the king had been violently taken off by a conspiracy of that Order; and political circumstances again concurred with popular superstition to revive the posthumous adulation, in the person of Julius Cæsar. It is remarkable in the history of a nation so jealous of public liberty, that in both instances, they bestowed the most extravagant mark of human veneration upon men who owed their fate respectively to the introduction of arbitrary power: first, in the founder of the Roman monarchy, and next, in the subverter of the republic. Both instances, however, serve to confirm the manner in which many of the pagan deities derived their origin in the fabulous ages.

† The place of Flamen Dialis was an office of great dignity, but subjected to many restrictions. The person who held it could not ride on horseback, nor stay one night without the city. His wife was likewise under particular restrictions, and could not be divorced. If she died, the Flamen resigned his office, because there were certain sacred rites which

mily, but extremely opulent, and to whom he had been contracted during his minority, he married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who was four times Consul. From this lady, who soon after bore him a daughter, named Julia, all the efforts of the Dictator Sylla could not induce him to part. On which account he was punished with the loss of his sacerdotal office, the fortune which he had acquired by marriage, and the estate of his ancestors. Being, besides, considered as an enemy to the existing government, he was obliged to abscond; and, though then greatly indisposed with an intermitting fever, to change his quarters almost every night; not without the expence, at the same time, of redeeming himself from the hands of those who were sent to apprehend him; until, by the intercession of the Vestal virgins *, of Mamer-

cus

he could not perform without her assistance. Besides other marks of distinction, he wore a purple robe called *Læna*, and a conical cap, called *Apex*.

* The Vestal virgins, upon their institution by Numa, were four in number; but two were added by Tarquinius Priscus, from whose time they continued ever after to be six. Their employment was to keep the sacred fire always burning. They watched it in the night-time alternately; and whoever allowed it to go out, was scourged by the Pontifex Maximus. This accident was always esteemed ominous, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire, when thus extinguished, was lighted up again, not from another fire, but from the rays of the sun; in which manner it was renewed every year upon the first of March, that being anciently the day when the year commenced. Amongst the honors and privileges enjoyed by the Vestals, they could absolve a criminal from punishment, if they met him accidentally; and their interposition, upon all occasions, was greatly respected. But the violation of their vow of chastity

was

cus Æmilius, and Aurelius Cotta, the two latter of whom were allied to him by marriage, he at last obtained a pardon. It is certain, that Sylla, when he yielded to the importunity of Cæsar's friends, broke forth into the following exclamation, whether from a divine impulse upon his mind, or only the result of his own sagacity: "Ye shall have your desire, and are at liberty to take him amongst you; but know that the person whom ye are so anxious to save, will, one time or other, prove the destruction of the nobility which ye have assisted me to protect: for, believe me, there are many Marius's in that Cæsar."

II. His first appointment in the military service, was in the wars of Asia, under the command of M. Thermus the Prætor. Being sent by this general into Bithynia †, to bring thence a fleet, he loitered so long in the court of Nicomedes, as to give occasion to a report of a criminal intercourse betwixt him and that prince; which received additional credit from his hasty return to Bithynia, under

was punished with peculiar severity. The unfortunate female was buried alive, with funeral solemnities, in a place called the Campus Sceleratus; and her paramour was scourged to death in the Forum.

† Bithynia, called anciently Bebricia, is a country of the peninsula of Asia, now called Asia Minor. It was bounded on the south by the river Rhyndacus and mount Olympus; on the west by the Bosporus Thracius, and a part of the Propontis; and on the north by the Euxine sea. Its boundaries towards the east are not clearly ascertained, Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy differing from each other on the subject. It is however generally recommended as a rich and fruitful country: the Greek geographers call it the *greatest* and the *best*.

the pretext of recovering a debt due to a freed-man his client. During the course of the Asiatic expedition, his conduct was in other respects irreprehensible; and upon the taking of Mitylene * by storm,† he was presented by Thermus with the civic crown †.

III. He served likewise in Cilicia ‡, under Servilius Isauricus, but for a short time. For upon receiving advice of Sylla's death, in the hope of attaining an ascen-

* Mitylene was a city of the island Lesbos, famous for the study of philosophy and eloquence. According to Pliny, it remained a free city and in power one thousand five hundred years. It suffered much in the Peloponnesian war from the Athenians, and in the Mithridatic from the Romans, by whom it was taken and destroyed. But it soon rose again, having recovered its ancient liberty by the favor of Pompey; and was afterwards much adorned by Trajan, who added to it the splendor of his own name. This was the country of Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, as well as of Alcæus and Sappho. The natives showed a particular taste for poetry, and had, as Plutarch informs us, stated times for the celebration of poetical contests.

† The Corona Civica was made of oak-leaves, and given to him who had saved the life of a citizen. The person who received it, wore it at public spectacles, and sat next the senators. When he entered, the audience rose up, as a mark of respect.

‡ A very extensive country of Hither Asia; lying between Pamphylia to the west, mount Taurus and Amanus to the north, Syria to the east, and the Mediterranean to the south. It was divided into *Aspera*, the rough or mountainous; and *Campestris*, the level or champaign Cilicia. It was anciently famous for saffron; and hair-cloth, called by the Romans *Cilicium*, was the manufacture of this country.

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dency from a new commotion, which was attempted by M. Lepidus, he returned with all speed to Rome. Distrusting however the abilities of that personage, and finding the times less favorable for the execution of such a project than there seemed reason at first to imagine, he abandoned all thoughts of embracing the intended confederacy, though the most tempting offers were made him to engage his concurrence.

IV. Soon after the re-establishment of public tranquillity, he preferred a charge of extortion against Cornelius Dolabella, a man of consular dignity, and who had obtained the honor of a triumph. But this impeachment terminating in the acquittal of the accused, he resolved to retire to Rhodes *, with the view not only of avoiding the public odium incurred by the charge, but of prosecuting his studies with greater advantage, under Apollonius, the son of Molon, at that time the most celebrated master of rhetoric. While on his voyage thither, in the winter season, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacusa; with whom he continued, not

* A famous city in an island of the same name, adjoining to the coast of Caria. Here was said to be anciently a huge statue of the Sun, called Colossus; but some are of opinion, that the account delivered of it is fabulous. The Rhodians were celebrated not only for skill in naval affairs, but for learning, philosophy, and eloquence. During the latter periods of the Roman republic, and under some of the emperors, many resorted thither for the purpose of prosecuting their studies; and it likewise became a place of retreat to discontented Romans. Solinus informs us, that in this island, the sky was seldom so overcast but that the sun might be seen; whence probably it obtained amongst the poets the epithet *Clara*.

without feeling the utmost indignation, during almost six weeks; his only attendants being one physician, and two valets. For his other servants, as well as the friends who accompanied him, he had immediately dispatched to raise money for his ransom. Upon the payment of fifty talents he was set ashore; when after the most diligent exertion to procure some ships, he came up with the pirates, and making them all prisoners, inflicted upon them the punishment with which he had often jocosely threatened them during his detention. Mithridates was at that time carrying devastation into the neighboring countries; and Cæsar, on his arrival at Rhodes, that he might not appear to disregard the danger which menaced the allies of Rome, passed over into Asia; where having collected some troops, and driven the king's deputy out of the province, he kept in their duty the cities which had begun to waver, and were on the point of revolt.

V. After his return to Rome, he obtained from the suffrage of the people the honorable rank of a military Tribune; and in this capacity zealously assisted the abettors of the tribunitian authority, which had been greatly diminished during the usurpation of Sylla. He likewise by a bill, which Plotius at his instigation preferred to the people, and was seconded by a speech from himself, procured the recal of Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, and others, who had been sent into banishment, for having sided with Lepidus, and afterwards with Sertorius, in the late public disturbances.

VI. During his Quæstorship he pronounced funeral orations in the Rostra, according to custom, in praise of his paternal aunt Julia, and his wife Cornelia. In his pænegyric on the former, he gives the following account of the
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the genealogy both of her and his father : “ My aunt Julia derived her descent, by the mother, from a race of kings, and, by her father, from the immortal Gods. For the Marcii Reges, which was her mother’s family, deduce their pedigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, which is that of her father, from the goddess Venus. We therefore unite in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the greatest among human kind, and the divine majesty of Gods, to whom kings themselves are subject.” In the room of Cornelia he married Pompeia, the daughter of Q. Pompeius, and grand-daughter of L. Sylla ; but this lady he afterwards divorced, upon a suspicion of her having had an intrigue with Publius Clodius. For so current was the report, that the latter had found access to her in woman’s habit, during the performance of a religious solemnity, that the Senate ordered a commission of enquiry respecting the supposed profanation.

VII. Upon his appointment to the Quæstorship the province of the Farther Spain fell to his lot ; where, when, by commission from the Prætor, he was going the circuit of the country, for the administration of justice, and was arrived at Gades, seeing, in the temple of Hercules, a statue of Alexander the Great, he fetched a deep sigh ; and as if vexed at his inactivity, for having performed nothing memorable at an age at which Alexander had conquered the world, he immediately requested his discharge, with the view of embracing the first opportunity, which might present in the city, of entering upon a more splendid career. His repose was farther disturbed by a dream which he had the succeeding night, of having been guilty of incestuous commerce with his mother. But the interpreters of dreams derived thence an omen of events the most flattering to his ambition ; affirming it to be a

presage that he should yet rule the empire of the world : for that the mother whom in his sleep he had seen subjected to his will, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all men.

VIII. Quitting therefore the province before the expiration of the usual term, he had recourse to the Latin colonies, then eager in the project of soliciting for the freedom of Rome ; and he would have excited them to some bold attempt, had not the Consuls, to prevent any commotion, detained for some time the legions which had been raised for the service of Cilicia. But this vigilance of the government did not deter him from making, soon after, a yet greater effort within the precincts of the city itself.

IX. For a few days before he entered upon the *Ædileship*, he incurred a suspicion of engaging in a conspiracy with M. Crassus, a man of consular rank ; to whom were joined P. Sylla and L. Autronius, who after they had been chosen Consuls, were convicted of bribery. The plan of the conspirators was to fall upon the Senate in the beginning of the year, and to murder as many of them as should be deemed expedient for their purpose : upon which event Crassus was to have assumed the office of Dictator, and appoint Cæsar his Master of the horse *. When the commonwealth should thus have been settled according to their pleasure, the Consulship was to have been restored to Sylla and Autronius. Mention is made

* The proper office of the Master of horse was to command the cavalry, and to execute the orders of the Dictator. He was usually nominated from amongst those of consular and prætorian dignity ; and had the use of a horse, which the dictator had not without the order of the people.

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of this plot by Tanufius Germinus in his history, by M. Bibulus in his edicts, and by Curio the father, in his orations. Cicero likewise seems to hint at the same transaction in a letter to Atticus, where he says, that Cæsar had in his Consulship secured to himself that arbitrary power to which he had aspired when he was *Ædile*. Tanufius adds, that Crassus, from remorse or fear, did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the Senate: for which reason Cæsar did not give the signal, which, according to the plan concerted between them, he was to have announced. The agreement, Curio says, was, that he should slip his toga from his shoulder. We have the authority of the same Curio, and of M. Aetorius Naso, for his having been likewise concerned in another conspiracy with young Cn. Piso; to whom, upon a suspicion of some mischief being meditated in the city, the province of Spain was decreed out of course, as the means of suspending any danger. It is however said to have been agreed between them, that Piso should excite an insurrection against the government abroad, whilst the other should attempt a similar revolt within the limits of the domestic administration, by artfully practising upon the seditious dispositions of the Lambrani, and other tribes beyond the Po. But the execution of this design, it is remarked, was prevented by the death of Piso.

X. While in the office of *Ædile*, he not only beautified the Comitium, with the rest of the Forum, and the courts adjoining, but the Capitol likewise, with piazzas, constructed only to subsist until the end of his *Ædileship*; that in them he might display the extraordinary preparations he was making for the gratification of the people, whom he entertained with the hunting of wild beasts,

beasts, and plays, both in conjunction with his colleague, and by himself. On this account, he obtained the whole credit of the expence to which they had jointly contributed; infomuch that his colleague, M. Bibulus, could not forbear remarking that he was served in the manner of Pollux. For as the temple erected in the Forum to the two brothers, was denominated Castor's only, so his and Cæsar's joint munificence was imputed to the latter alone. To the other public spectacles exhibited to the people, Cæsar added a combat of gladiators, but in a smaller number than he had intended. For so great was the company of them, which he collected from all parts, that those of the Patricians who were not of his party were alarmed; and the senate passed an act, restricting the shews of gladiators to a certain number, which, for the future, no person should be allowed to exceed.

XI. Having thus conciliated the good graces of the people, he endeavored, through his interest with some of the Tribunes, to procure, by a decree of the commons, the province of Ægypt. The pretext for such an application was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled their king, whom the senate had complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman people. This transaction, which seemed to affect the dignity of the republic, produced a general spirit of resentment among the populace at Rome: notwithstanding which, on account of an opposition from a party of the nobility, all the efforts of Cæsar and his friends could not procure him the appointment. To diminish therefore the authority of that body, by every means in his power, he restored the trophies erected in honor of C. Marius, upon account of his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutoni, but which had been demolished by Sylla; and sitting
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in the capacity of a judge, he treated as murderers all those who, in the late proscription, had received money out of the treasury, for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, though they had been expressly absolved from punishment by subsequent laws.

XII. He likewise procured a person to bring an impeachment of treason against C. Rabirius, by whose assistance the Senate had, a few years before, restrained the seditious attempts of L. Saturninus the Tribune; and being drawn by lot one of the judges for his trial, he discovered so strong a desire to convict him, that upon his appealing to the people, no circumstance availed him so much as the extraordinary bitterness of his judge.

XIII. Having renounced all hope of obtaining the province of Ægypt, he stood candidate for the office of High-priest, in the pursuit of which object, he had recourse to the utmost profusion of bribery. Reflecting, on this occasion, on the greatness of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have said to his mother, when she kissed him at his going out in the morning to the election, "I shall never come home again, unless I am elected high-priest." In effect, he so much baffled two competitors of the most powerful interest, and greatly superior to him both in age and dignity, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all together.

XIV. After he had been chosen Prætor, the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered, and while every other member of the Senate inclined to inflict capital punishment on the delinquents, he alone advised to confiscate their estates, and commit their persons to separate prisons

sons through the towns of Italy. He even struck so great a terror into those who were advocates for greater severity, by representing to them what a general odium they would infallibly incur, by carrying such a measure into execution, that D. Silanus, Consul-Elect, thought proper to qualify his decision, because it was not very honorable to change it, by a softening interpretation, as if his opinion had been understood in a harsher sense than he intended; and Cæsar would certainly have carried his point, having brought over to his side a great number of the Senators, among whom was the brother of the Consul Cicero, had not a speech of M. Cato's infused new vigor into the resolutions of the house. He persisted, however, to obstruct their proceedings with intemperate ardor, until a body of the equestrian Order, that stood under arms as a guard, holding up their drawn swords, threatened him with immediate death. Those who sat next him instantly moved off; and a few friends, with no small difficulty, protected him, by taking him in their arms, and holding their togas before him. At last, dispirited by this repentment, he not only relinquished the debate, but absented himself from the house during the remainder of that year.

XV. Upon the first day of his Prætorship, he summoned Q. Catulus to render an account to the people concerning the repairs of the Capitol; presenting at the same time a bill, for transferring that commission to another person. But being unable to withstand the strong opposition made against him by the aristocratical party, whom he perceived quitting, in great numbers, their attendance upon the new Consuls, and fully resolved to resist his proposal, he dropt the design.

XVI. He

XVI. He afterwards approved himself a most resolute adherent to Cæcilius Metellus, Tribune of the commons, who had preferred some bills of a seditious tendency to the people, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, until they were both dismissed from office by a vote of the Senate. He ventured, notwithstanding, to continue in the administration of justice; but finding some prepared to obstruct him by force of arms, he dismissed his officers, threw off his gown, and betook himself privately to his own house, with the resolution of being quiet, in a time so unfavorable to his interests. He likewise pacified the mob, which in two days after assembled about him, and in a riotous manner offered him their assistance towards the vindication of his honor. This happening contrary to expectation, the Senate, which had met in haste, upon occasion of the tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the house, sent for him, and, after a high commendation of his behaviour, cancelled their former vote, and restored him to his place in the assembly.

XVII. But he had scarcely sooner emerged from his late disaster, than he fell again into a fresh danger; being named amongst the accomplices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the Quæstor, by the informer L. Vettius, and in the senate by Q. Curius; to whom, for his having first discovered the designs of the conspirators, a reward had been voted. Curius affirmed that he had received his information from Catiline. Vettius even engaged to produce in evidence against him his own hand writing, which he had given to Catiline. Cæsar declaring this treatment to be intolerable, appealed to Cicero himself, whether he had not voluntarily made a discovery to him of some particulars of the conspiracy; by
which

which means he prevented Curius from receiving his expected reward. He obliged Vettius to give pledges to answer for his behaviour, alienated his goods, and after seeing him roughly used, and almost torn in pieces, in an assembly of the people at the Rostra, threw him in prison; to which he likewise sent Novius the Quæstor, for having presumed to take an information against a magistrate of superior authority.

XVIII. At the expiration of his Prætorship he got by lot the Farther Spain, and abated the violence of his creditors, who were for stopping him, by giving them security *. Contrary, however, to both law and custom, he took his departure before the usual allowance for his equipage was paid him from the treasury. It is uncertain whether this precipitancy arose from the apprehension of an impeachment, after the expiration of his provincial charge, which was intended, or from an ardor to relieve the allies, who anxiously longed for his presence. As soon as he had established tranquillity in the province, he, without waiting for the arrival of his successor, returned to Rome, with equal haste, to sue for a triumph and the Consulship. The day of election, however, being already fixed by proclamation, he could not legally be admitted a candidate, unless he entered the

* Plutarch informs us, that Cæsar, before he came into any public office, owed his creditors to the amount of one thousand three hundred talents, which makes of our money somewhat more than 565,000*l*. But his debts encreased so much after this period, if we may believe Appian, that upon his departure for Spain, at the expiration of his Prætorship, he is reported to have said, *Bis millies et quingenties sibi decesse, ut nihil haberet* : i.e. That he was two millions and near twenty thousand pounds worse than nothing.

city as a private person. On this emergency he solicited a suspension of the laws in his favor; but such an indulgence being strongly opposed, he found himself under the necessity of abandoning all thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be disappointed of the Consulship.

XIX. Of the two other competitors for the Consulship, L. Luceius and M. Bibulus, he joined with the former, upon condition that Luceius, being a man of less interest but greater affluence, should promise money to the burgeses in the name of them both. His opponents among the nobility dreading what enterprise he might attempt, should he get possession of the Consulship with a colleague of the same dispositions with himself, advised Bibulus to promise the voters as much, and most of them contributed towards a share of the expence; Cato himself admitting that bribery upon such an occasion was consistent with, and even absolutely necessary to the good of the public. He was accordingly elected Consul with Bibulus. Actuated still by the same motives, the prevailing party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new Consuls, such as the care of woods and roads. Cæsar, incensed at this indignity, endeavored by the most assiduous and flattering attentions to gain to his side Cn. Pompey, at that time dissatisfied with the Senate, for the backwardness they shewed to confirm his acts, after the conquest of Mithridates. He likewise produced a reconciliation between Pompey and M. Crassus, who had been at variance from the time of their joint Consulship, in which office they were continually clashing; and he entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, that was displeasing to any of the three.

XX. Hav-

XX. Having entered upon his office, he introduced a new regulation, which was, that all the acts both of the Senate and people should be daily committed to writing, and immediately made public. He also revived an old custom, that an Accensus * should walk before him, and his Lictors follow him, on the alternate months when the fasces were not carried in his train. Upon preferring a bill to the people for the division of some public lands, he was opposed by his colleague, whom he violently drove out of the Forum. Next day the insulted Consul made a complaint in the Senate of this treatment; but no member having the courage to move or advise the house respecting so serious an outrage, which had yet been often done upon incidents of less importance, he was so much dispirited, that until the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and only endeavored to obstruct the proceedings of his colleague by proclamations. From that time, therefore, Cæsar had the sole management of public affairs; insomuch that some wags, when they signed any writing as witnesses, did not add "in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus," but, "of Julius and Cæsar;" putting the same person down twice under his name and surname. The following verses likewise were currently repeated on this occasion:

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est;
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.

Nothing was done in Bibulus's year:
No; Cæsar only was late Consul here.

* Within the city, the Lictors went before only one of the Consuls, and that commonly for a month alternately. A public servant, called Accensus, went before the other Consul, and the Lictors followed. This custom had long been disused, but was now restored by Cæsar.

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The land of Stella, consecrated by our ancestors to the gods, with some other land of Campania left liable to tribute, to support the expences of the government, he divided, but not by lot, among upwards of twenty thousand seamen, who had each of them three or more children. He eased the Publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum which they had engaged to pay into the public treasury; and openly admonished them not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion. All other things he disposed of at pleasure, without the least opposition from any quarter; or if any attempt to that purpose ever became evident, it soon was suppressed. M. Cato, who interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be dragged out of the Senate-house by an officer, and carried to prison. L. Lucullus, likewise, for opposing him with some warmth, he so terrified with the apprehension of false accusation, that, to deprecate the Consul's resentment, he fell down on his knees. And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day by nine o'clock, brought over his enemy P. Clodius from the nobility to the commons; a transition which that personage himself had a long time solicited in vain. At last, effectually to intimidate all those of the opposite party, he by great rewards prevailed upon Vettius to declare, that he had been solicited by certain persons to assassinate Pompey; and when he was brought upon the Rostra to name such as had been concerted between them, after naming one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of subornation, Cæsar, despairing of success in this rash stratagem, is supposed to have taken off his informer by means of poison.

XXI. About the same time he married Calpurnia, the
C daughter

daughter of L. Piso, who was to succeed him in the Consulship, and gave his own daughter to Pompey; rejecting Servilius Cæpio, to whom she had been contracted, and by whose means chiefly he had but a little before baffled Bibulus. After this new alliance, he began, upon any debates in the Senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first; whereas he used before to pay that compliment to M. Crassus; and it was the usual practice with the Consul to observe throughout the year the method of consulting the house which he had adopted the first of January.

XXII. Being therefore now supported by the interest of his father and son-in-law, of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul, as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he received only Cisalpine Gaul, with the addition of Illyricum, by a bill of Vatinius to the people; but soon after obtained by the senate Gallia Comata * likewise; the house entertaining an apprehension, that if they should withhold this province, it would be conferred on him by the commons.

* *Gallia* was anciently divided into the *Transalpina*, or *Uterior*, and *Cisalpina*, or *Citerior*, with respect to Rome. The *Citerior* was properly a part of Italy, occupied by Gallic colonists; having the Rubicon, the ancient boundary of Italy, on the south. It was also called *Gallia Togata*, from the use of the Roman *toga*; the inhabitants of those parts being, after the social war, admitted to the right of citizens. The *Gallia Transalpina*, or *Uterior*, was called *Comata*, from the people wearing their hair long, which the Romans wore short; and the southern part of it, afterwards called *Narbonensis*, came to have the epithet *Braccata*, from the use of *braccæ*, which were no part of the Roman dress. Some writers suppose the *braccæ* to have been breeches; but

Aldus,

mons. Elated now with his success, he could not refrain from boasting a few days after in a full house, that he had, in spite of his enemies, and to their great mortification, obtained all he desired, and should for the future treat them with what indignity he pleased. One of the members smartly observing, "That will not be very easy for a woman to do," he jocosely replied, "Semiramis has formerly reigned in Assyria, and the Amazons been possessed of a great part of Asia."

XXIII. When the term of his Consulship had expired, upon a motion being made in the Senate by C. Memmius and L. Domitius the Prætors, respecting the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house; but they declining the business, after three days spent in vain altercation, he set out for his province. Immediately, however, his Quæstor was impeached for several misdemeanors, by way of prelude to the future condemnation of Cæsar. An accusation was soon after preferred against himself, by L. Antistius, Tribune of the commons; but by making an appeal to the rest of the body, he prevailed, as being absent in the service of his country, to have the prosecution suspended. To secure himself therefore for the time to come, he was particularly careful to oblige the magistrates of every year, and to assist none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffer any to be advanced to any post whatever, who would not positively undertake to defend him in his absence: for

Aldus, in a short disquisition on the subject, affirms that they were a kind of upper dress. And this opinion seems to be countenanced by the name *braccan* being applied by the modern Celtic nations, the descendents of the Gallic Celts, to signify their upper garment, or plaid.

which purpose he made no scruple to require of some an oath, and even a written obligation.

XXIV. But when L. Domitius was candidate for the Consulship, and openly threatened that upon his election into office, he would effect what he could not in the capacity of Prætor, and divest him of the command of the armies, he sent for Crassus and Pompey to Luca a city of his province, and pressed them, for the purpose of disappointing Domitius, to sue again for the Consulship, and to continue him in his command for five years longer; with both which requisitions they complied. Presumptuous now from his success, he added, at his own private charge, more legions to those which he had received from the government; among the former of which was one levied in Transalpine Gaul, and called by a Gallic name *Alauda*, which he trained and armed in the Roman fashion, and afterwards made free of the city. From this period he declined no occasion of war, not even of such as was unjust and dangerous; attacking, without any provocation, as well the allies of Rome as the barbarous nations which were its enemies: inso-much that the Senate passed a decree for sending commissioners to examine into the condition of Gaul; and some members of the house even advised the delivering of him up to the enemy. But so great being the success of his enterprises, he had the honor of obtaining more days of supplication, and those more frequently, than had ever before been decreed to any commander.

XXV. During nine years in which he held the military command, his achievements were the following. He reduced all Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenean forest, the Alps, mount Gebenna, and the two rivers of the

8 Rhine

Rhine and Rhone, being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only the allies of the republic, and such nations as had merited his favor; imposing upon this new acquisition an annual tax of forty millions of sesterces. He first of all the Romans passed the Rhine by a bridge against the Germanic nations, and defeated them in several engagements. He likewise invaded the Britons, a people formerly unknown, of whom, after he had overthrown them in battle, he exacted contributions and hostages. Amidst such a series of successes, he experienced only three times any signal disaster: once in Britain, when his fleet was almost destroyed by a storm; in Gaul, at Gergovia, where one of his legions was put to the rout; and in the territory of the Germans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

XXVI. During this period he lost his mother, whose death was followed by that of his daughter, and, not long after, of his grand-daughter. In the mean time, the Republic being alarmed by the murder of P. Clodius, and the Senate passing a vote that only one consul, namely Pompey, should be chosen for the ensuing year, he prevailed with the Tribunes of the commons, who intended joining him in nomination with Pompey, to propose to the people a bill, enabling him to stand candidate for a second Consulship in his absence, when the term of his command should be near expiring; that he might not be obliged on that account to quit his province too soon, and before the conclusion of the war. After he had attained this object, carrying his views still higher, and animated with the hopes of success, he omitted no opportunity of gaining universal affection, by acts of generosity and

kindness to individuals, both in public and private. With money raised from the spoils of the war he began to construct a new Forum; the ground-plot of which cost him above a hundred millions of sesterces. He promised the people a public entertainment of gladiators, and a feast in memory of his daughter, which none before him had ever given. The more to raise their expectations on this occasion, though he had agreed with victuallers of all denominations for his feast, he made yet farther preparations in private houses, in different quarters of the city. He issued an order, that the most celebrated gladiators, if at any time during the combat they incurred the displeasure of the public, should be immediately carried off by force, and reserved for some future occasion. Young gladiators he trained up not in the school, and by the masters of defence, but in gentlemen's houses, by Roman knights, and even Senators, skilled in the use of arms; earnestly requesting them, as appears from his letters, to take upon themselves the trouble of instructing and forming those novitiates to the discipline of the combat. He doubled the pay of the legions in perpetuity; allowing them likewise corn, when it was in plenty, without any restriction; and sometimes distributing to every soldier in his army a slave, and a portion of land, or a house.

XXVII. To maintain an alliance and a good understanding with Pompey, he offered him in marriage his sister's grand-daughter Octavia, who had been married to C. Marcellus, and requested for himself his daughter, lately contracted to Faustus Sylla. Every person about him, and a great part likewise of the Senate, he obliged by the loan of money at low interest or none at all; and to all others who came to wait upon him, either from invitation

vation or of their own accord, he made liberal presents; not neglecting even freedmen and slaves, who were favorites with their masters and patrons. He was, besides, the signal protector and support of all persons under prosecution, or in debt, or prodigal young gentlemen; excluding from his beneficence only those who were so deeply immersed in guilt, poverty, or luxury, that it was impossible effectually to relieve them. These, he openly declared, could derive no benefit from any other means than a civil war.

XXVIII. He endeavored with equal assiduity to engage in his interest princes, and provinces, in every part of the known world; presenting some with thousands of prisoners, and sending to others the assistance of troops, at whatever time and place they desired, without any authority for such extraordinary acts, either from the Senate or people of Rome. He likewise ornamented with magnificent public buildings the most potent cities not only of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, but of Greece and Asia; until all people being now astonished, and speculating on the obvious tendency of those proceedings, Claudius Marcellus the Consul, declaring first by proclamation, that he intended to propose a measure of the utmost importance to the public, made a motion in the Senate that some person should be appointed to succeed Cæsar in his province, before the term of vice-gerency was expired, because the war was brought to a conclusion, and the victorious army should be disbanded. He farther moved, that Cæsar being absent, his suit at the next election of Consuls should not be admitted, as the expedient practised by Pompey could not infringe the validity of the law which had been made by the people for that purpose. The fact was, that Pompey in his law

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relating to the choice of chief magistrates, had forgot to except Cæsar, in the article in which he declared all such as were not present incapable of being candidates for any post in the government; and soon after, when the law was inscribed upon a copper-plate, and deposited in the treasury, he corrected his mistake. Marcellus, not content with depriving Cæsar of his provinces, and the favor intended him by Pompey, likewise moved the house, that the freedom of the city should be taken from those colonists whom, by the law of Vatinius, he had settled at Novum Comum*; because it had been conferred upon them with an ambitious view, and in express contradiction to the statute.

XXIX. Cæsar being alarmed at these proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to say, that it would be a more difficult enterprise to bring him down, now that he was at the head of the government, from the first rank of citizens into the second, than from the second to the lowest of all, made a vigorous opposition to this measure, partly by the Tribunes, who interposed in his behalf, and partly by Servius Sulpitius the other Consul. The following year likewise, when C. Marcellus, who succeeded his cousin Marcus in the Consulship, pursued the same measures, Cæsar, by means of a large sum of money, engaged in his defence Æmilius Paulus, the other Consul, and C. Curio, the most violent in temper of

* Comum was a town of the Orobii, of ancient standing, and formerly powerful. Julius Cæsar added to it five thousand new colonists; whence it was generally called Novocomum. But in time it recovered its ancient name, Comum; Pliny the younger, who was a native of this place, calling it by no other name.

all the Tribunes. But finding the opposition obstinately bent against him, and that the Consuls Elect were also of the party, he wrote a letter to the Senate, requesting that they would not obstruct the kind intentions expressed by the people towards him; or else that the other generals should resign the command of their armies as well as himself; fully persuaded, as it is thought, that he could more easily call together his veteran soldiers, whenever he pleased, than Pompey could his new-raised troops, though favored with the influence of the government. At the same time, he made his adversaries an offer to surrender eight of his legions and Transalpine Gaul, upon condition that he might retain two legions, with the Cisalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, till he should be elected Consul.

XXX. But as the Senate declined to interpose in the business, and his enemies declared that they would enter into no compromise relative to the administration of the Republic, he advanced into Hither Gaul, and having gone the circuit of the province for the holding of assizes, he made a halt at Ravenna, resolving to avenge himself by war, if the Senate should proceed to severity against the Tribunes of the commons who had espoused his cause. And this was indeed his pretext for engaging in a war with his country; but it is supposed that there were other motives for his conduct. Cn. Pompey used frequently to say, that because he was not able, with all the riches he possessed, to complete the works he had begun, and answer, at his return, the vast expectations which he had excited in the people, he wished to throw every thing into confusion. Others pretend, he was apprehensive of being called to an account for what he had done in his first Consulship, contrary to the auspices, laws, and authority

thority of the Tribunes; M. Cato having sometimes declared, and that too with an oath, that he would prefer an impeachment against him, as soon as he disbanded his army. A report likewise prevailed, that if he returned a private person, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard to attend the court. This conjecture is rendered highly probable by Asinius Pollio, who informs us that Cæsar, upon viewing the vanquished and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalia, expressed himself in these very words: "This they intended: I, Caius Cæsar, after all the great achievements I have performed, must have undergone a sentence of condemnation, had I not desired the assistance of my army." Some think, that having contracted from long habit an extraordinary love of power, and weighed his own and his enemies' strength, he embraced that occasion of seizing the government, of which from his youth he had been ambitious. This seems to have been the opinion entertained by Cicero, who tells us in the third book of his Offices, that Cæsar used to have frequently in his mouth two verses of Euripides, which he thus translates:

"Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas."

For nought but sov'reign pow'r transgress the laws
Of Right; nought else can sanctify the cause.

XXXI. When advice therefore was brought, that the interposition of the Tribunes in his favor had been utterly rejected, and that they themselves had fled from the city, he forthwith privately dispatched before him some battalions, and to prevent any suspicion of his design, he attended at a public shew, examined the model of a fencing school which he proposed to build, and, as usual, sat
down

down to table with a numerous party of his friends. But after sun-set, having put to his chaise mules from a neighbouring bake-house, he set out on his journey with all possible privacy, and a small retinue. But his lights going out, he lost his way, and wandered about a long time, until by the help of a guide, whom he found towards day-break, he proceeded on foot through some narrow paths, and again reached the road. Coming up with his troops on the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he made a stop; when revolving in his mind for some time the greatness of his attempt, he turned to those about him: "We may still retreat," said he, "but if we pass this little bridge, we must make our way by force of arms."

XXXII. While he was thinking on what he should resolve, there happened the following incident. On a sudden, a person of a graceful size and figure appeared hard by, sitting and playing upon a pipe. Whilst a great many not only shepherds but soldiers too upon duty, and amongst them some trumpeters, flocked to hear him, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and sounding an alarm with a prodigious blast, advanced to the other side. Upon this, Cæsar cried out, "Let us march whither divine prodigies, and the perverseness of our enemies call us. The die is now cast."

XXXIII. Accordingly drawing his army over the river, and attended by the Tribunes of the commons, who, upon their being forced from the city, were come up to him, he, at the head of his troops, with tears in his eyes, and his garment rent from his breast, implored their protection. It has been supposed, that upon this occasion
he

he promised to every foldier a knight's estate: but that opinion is founded in a miftake. For when, in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that to recompense thofe who fhould affift him in the defence of his honor, he would willingly part even with his ring; the foldiers at a diftance, who could more eafily fee, than hear him, while he fpoke, formed their conception of what he faid, by the eye, not by the ear; and accordingly gave out, that he had promifed to each of them the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and an estate of four hundred thoufand fefterces*.

XXXIV. Of the tranfactions that enfued I fhall give a curfory detail, in the order in which they occurred. He took poffeffion of Picene, Umbria and Etruria; and having obliged L. Domitius, who had in the late confufion been nominated to fucceed him, and kept Corfinium with a garrifon, to furrender, and difmiffed him, he marched along the coaft of the upper fea, to Brundifium, to which place the Confuls and Pompey were fled, with an intention to pafs the fea as foon as poffible. After he had endeavored by various means, but in vain, to prevent their getting out of the harbour, he marched towards Rome, where he delivered to the Senate his sentiments

* Suetonius here accounts for the miftake of the foldiers with great probability. The clafs to which they imagined they were to be promoted, was that of the Equites, or Knights, who enjoyed the privilege of wearing a gold ring. The fortune neceffary to thofe who were chofen into this order, was about 3229l. of our money. Great as was the liberality of Cæfar to his legions, the performance of this imaginary promife was beyond all reafonable expectation.

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upon the present situation of affairs; and then went for Spain, in which province Pompey had a numerous army, under the command of three lieutenants, M. Petreius, L. Afranius, and M. Varro; declaring amongst his friends, before he set forward, "That he was going against an army without a general, and should thence return against a general without an army." Though his progress was retarded both by the siege of Marseilles, which shut her gates against him, and a very great scarcity of corn, yet in a short time he bore down all before him.

XXXV. He afterwards returned to the city, and passing thence into Macedonia, blocked up Pompey during almost four months, within a line of ramparts of prodigious extent, and at last routed him in the battle of Pharsalia. He pursued him in his flight to Alexandria, where he was informed of his murder, and presently found himself engaged with king Ptolemy, who, he saw, had a design upon his life, in a very dangerous war, under all the disadvantages of time and place. It was winter, and he within the walls of a well provided subtle enemy, destitute of every thing, and wholly unprepared for such an embarrassing occurrence. He succeeded however in his attempt, and put the kingdom of Egypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother; being afraid to make it a province of the empire, lest, under a turbulent governor, it might afford a temptation to rebel against the Romans. From Alexandria he went into Syria, and thence to Pontus, induced by advice which he had received of the progress of Pharnaces. This prince, who was son of the great Mithridates, had laid hold of the opportunity which the distraction of the times offered, for making war upon his neighbours, and was greatly elevated with his success. Him however Cæsar, within five days
after

after entering his country, and four hours after coming in sight of him, overthrew in one decisive engagement. Upon which, he frequently remarked to those about him the good fortune of Pompey, who had obtained his reputation for a soldier, chiefly from the conquest of so unwarlike an enemy. He afterwards defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain.

XXXVI. During the whole course of the civil war, he never once experienced any disaster, except in the person of his lieutenants; of whom C. Curio lost his life in Africa, C. Antonius was made prisoner in Illyricum, P. Dolabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum, and Cn. Domitius Calvinus an army in Pontus. In every encounter with the enemy where he himself commanded, he came off with success, and without ever incurring the hazard of a doubtful victory, except on two occasions: once at Dyrrachium, when being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said, "Pompey knew not how to conquer." The other instance happened in his last battle in Spain, where, in despair of success, he even had thoughts of killing himself.

XXXVII. For the victories obtained in the several wars, he triumphed five different times; after the defeat of Scipio, four times in one month, but each subsequent triumph succeeding the former by an interval of a few days; and once again after the conquest of Pompey's sons. His first and most glorious triumph was for his victories obtained over the Gauls. The next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the last for that in Spain; all different from each other in variety of furniture and pomp. On the day
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of the Gallic triumph, as he was proceeding along the street called Velabrum, he narrowly escaped a fall from his chariot by the breaking of the axle-tree, and mounted the Capitol by torch-light, forty elephants carrying flambeaux on the right and left of him. Amongst the pageantry of the Pontic triumph, this inscription was carried before him: "I came, saw, and overcame*;" not signifying, as other mottos on the like occasion, what was done, so much as the dispatch with which it was done.

XXXVIII. To every foot-soldier in his veteran legions, beside the two thousand sesterces paid them in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thousand more, under the name of plunder. He likewise assigned them lands, but not contiguous to each other, that the former owners might not be entirely dispossessed. To the people of Rome, besides ten modius's of corn, and as many pounds of oil, he gave three hundred sesterces a man, which he had formerly promised them, and a hundred each more, for the delay in fulfilling his engagement. He likewise remitted a year's rent due to the treasury, for such houses in Rome, as did not pay above two thousand sesterces a year; and through the rest of Italy, for all such as did not exceed in yearly rent five hundred sesterces. To all this he added a public entertainment, and a distribution of flesh, and, after his Spanish victory, two dinners. For, considering the first as too sparing, and unsuitable to his generosity, he five days after added another, which was most plentiful.

XXXIX. He exhibited to the people shews of various

* "Veni, vidi, vici."

kinds : such as a combat of gladiators *, and stage-plays in the several wards of the city, and in several languages : Circensian games † likewise, wrestlers, and the representation of a sea-fight. In the fight of gladiators presented in the Forum, Furius Leptinus, a man of a Prætorian family, entered the lists as a combatant ; as did also
Q. Calpenus,

* Gladiators were first publicly exhibited at Rome by two brothers called *Bruti*, at the funeral of their father, in the year from the building of the city 490 ; and for some time they were exhibited only on such occasions. But afterwards they were given also by the magistrates, to entertain the people, particularly at the *Saturnalia*, and feasts of Minerva. It is incredible what numbers of men were destroyed upon those occasions ; and still more, that women of quality, laying aside the softness of their sex, became combatants at such exhibitions, under some of the emperors. Those ferocious spectacles were prohibited by Constantine, but not entirely suppressed until the time of Honorius.

† Circensian games were shews exhibited in the Circus Maximus, and consisted of various kinds : first, chariot and horse-races, of which the Romans were extravagantly fond. The charioteers were distributed into four parties, distinguished by the color of their dress. The spectators, without regarding the swiftness of the horses, or the art of the men, were attracted merely by one or other of the colors, as caprice inclined them. In the time of Justinian, no less than thirty thousand men lost their lives at Constantinople, in a tumult raised by a contention amongst the partizans of the several colors. Secondly, contests of agility and strength ; of which there were five kinds, hence called Pentathlum. These were, running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, and throwing the *discus* or quoit. Thirdly, *Ludus Trojæ*, a mock-fight, performed by young noblemen on horseback, revived by Julius Cæsar, and frequently celebrated by the succeeding emperors.

Q. Calpenus, formerly a Senator, and a pleader of causes: The Pyrrhic dance was performed by some youths, who were sons to persons of the first distinction in Asia and Bithynia. Decimus Laberius acted a mimic piece of his own; and being immediately presented with five hundred thousand sesterces, and a gold ring, he went from the stage, through the orchestra, into the seats allotted for the equestrian order. In the Circensian games, the Circus being enlarged at each end, and a canal sunk round it, several of the young nobility rode the races in chariots, drawn, some by four, and others by two horses, and likewise on single

horses. We meet with a description of it in the fifth book of the *Æneid*, beginning with the following lines :

Incedunt pueri, pariterque ante ora parentum
Frænatis lucent in equis: quos omnis euntes
Trinacriæ mirata fremit Trojæque juvenus.

Fourthly, Venatio, which was the fighting of wild beasts with one another, or with men called *Bestiarii*, who were either forced to the combat by way of punishment, as the primitive Christians were; or fought voluntarily, either from a natural ferocity of disposition, or induced by hire. An incredible number of animals of various kinds were brought from all quarters, at a prodigious expence, for the entertainment of the people. Pompey, in his second Consulship, exhibited at once five hundred lions, which were all dispatched in five days; also eighteen elephants. Fifthly, the representation of a horse and foot battle, with that of an encampment or a siege. Sixthly, the representation of a sea-fight (*Naumachia*), which was at first made in the *Circus Maximus*, but afterwards oftener elsewhere. The combatants were usually captives or condemned malefactors, who fought to death, unless saved by the clemency of the emperor. If any thing unlucky happened at the games, they were renewed, and often more than once.

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horses.

horses. The Trojan game was acted by two distinct companies of boys, one differing from the other in point of stature. The hunting of wild beasts was presented for five days successively; and at last a battle fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horse on each side. For the accommodation of this spectacle the goals were removed, and in their room two camps were pitched, directly opposite to each other. Wrestlers likewise performed for three days successively, in a stadium provided for the purpose in the Campus Martius. In a lake sunk in the lesser Codeta, Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, consisting of ships of two, three, and four banks of oars, with a number of men on board, afforded an animated representation of a sea-fight. To these various diversions there flocked such crowds of spectators from all parts, that most of them were obliged to lodge in tents erected in the streets, or the roads near the city. Several in the throng were squeezed to death, amongst whom were two Senators.

XL. Turning afterwards his thoughts to the regulation of the commonwealth, he corrected the Calendar, which had for some time become extremely confused; through the unwarrantable liberty which the priests had taken in the article of Intercalation. To such a height had this abuse proceeded, that neither the holidays designed for the harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, ordaining that in future it should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, without any intercalatory month; and that every fourth year an intercalatory day should be inserted. That the year might thenceforth commence regularly with the Calends, or first of January, he inserted two months betwixt November and December;

so that the year in which this regulation was made consisted of fifteen months, including the month of intercalation, which, according to the division of time then in use, happened that year.

XLI. He filled up the vacancies in the Senate, advanced several commoners to the dignity of patricians, enlarged the number of Prætors, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, and inferior magistrates likewise; restoring, at the same time, such as had been disgraced by the Censors, or convicted of bribery at elections. The choice of magistrates he so divided with the people; that, excepting only the competitors for the Consulship, they nominated one half of them, and he the other. The method which he practised in those cases was, to recommend such persons as he had pitched upon, by bills dispersed through the several tribes to this effect: "Cæsar the Dictator to such a tribe (naming it). I recommend to you ——— (naming likewise the persons), that by the favor of your votes they may attain to the honors which they respectively sue for*." He likewise admitted to offices the sons of such as had been proscribed. He restricted the trial of causes to two orders of judges, viz. the Equestrian and Senatorian; excluding the commissioners of the treasury who had before made a third class. The survey of the people he ordered to be taken neither in the usual manner, nor in the usual place, but in the several streets, by the principal inhabitants; and reduced the number of those that received corn from the public,

* This is the first instance we meet with in history, of having recourse to the distribution of hand-bills, for influencing the people at elections. The inventive genius of Cæsar left no expedient untried that could serve to promote his purpose.

from three hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty. To prevent any tumults on account of the survey, he ordered that the Prætor should every year fill up by lot the vacancies occasioned by death, from those who were not enrolled for the receipt of corn.

XLII. Eighty thousand citizens having been distributed into foreign colonies, he enacted, in order to compensate the deficiency, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, who was not in the military service of his country, should be absent from Italy above three years at a time : that no Senator's son should go abroad, unless in the retinue of some governor of a province ; and that those who followed grazing, should have no less than a third part of their shepherds free-born. He likewise made all such as practised physic in Rome, and all teachers of the liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and invite others to the place. With respect to debts, he disappointed the expectation which was entertained, that they would be universally cancelled, a measure which had frequently been moved for ; and ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to an estimate of their estates, by the rates at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil war ; deducting from the debt such interest as had been paid either in money or bills ; by virtue of which order about a fourth part of the debt was lost. He dissolved all corporations of craftsmen, except such as were of ancient establishment. He increased the punishment of crimes beyond what the laws had ordained ; and because the rich were more easily induced to transgress, from the circumstance of their being liable only to banishment, without the forfeiture of their estates, he stripped parricides, as Cicero observes, of their whole estates, and others of one half.

XLIII. He

XLIII. He was extremely assiduous and strict in the administration of justice. He expelled from the Senate such members as were convicted of bribery; and he dissolved the marriage of a man of Prætorian rank, who had married a lady two days after her divorce from a former husband, though there was no suspicion that they had been guilty of any unlawful commerce. He imposed duties upon the importation of foreign goods. The use of litters for travelling, scarlet cloaths, and jewels, he permitted only to persons of a certain age, and on particular days. He enforced a rigid execution of the sumptuary laws; placing spies about the shambles, to seize upon all meats exposed to sale contrary to the statutes on that subject, and bring them to him; sometimes sending his sergeants and soldiers to fetch off such victuals as had escaped the notice of his spies, even when they were upon the table.

XLIV. His thoughts were now daily employed on a variety of great projects, for the embellishment and convenience of the city, as well as for securing and extending the bounds of the empire. In the first place, he meditated the construction of a temple to the God Mars, which should exceed in grandeur every thing of that kind in the world. For this purpose, he intended to fill up the lake on which he had entertained the people with a sea-fight. He also projected a most spacious theatre close by the Tarpeian mount: to reduce the civil law into reasonable compass, and out of that immense and undigested mass of statutes, to extract the best and most necessary parts into a few books: to make as large a collection as possible of literary productions, in the two languages, Greek and Latin; having assigned to M. Varro the province of providing and putting them

in proper order. He intended likewise to drain the Pomptine marsh, to empty the lake Fucinus, to make a caufeway from the Upper Sea, through the ridge of the Appennine, to the Tiber; to make a cut through the isthmus of Corinth, to reduce the Dacians, who had over-run Pontus and Thrace, within their proper limits, and then to make war upon the Parthians, through the Lesser Armenia, but not to risk a general engagement with them, until he had made some trial of their military qualifications. But in the midst of all his projects, he was carried off by death; before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give a brief account of his person, dress, and manners, with his views and inclinations, respecting affairs both civil and military.

XLV. He is said to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round limbed, rather full faced, with eyes black and lively, very healthful, except that, towards the end of his life, he would suddenly fall into fainting-fits, and be frightened in his sleep. He was likewise twice seized with the falling sickness in the time of battle. He was so nice in the care of his person, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, and his face shaved with great exactness, but likewise had the hair on other parts of the body plucked out by the roots, a practice with which some persons upbraidingly charged him. His baldness gave him much uneasiness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the ridicule of his enemies. He therefore used to bring forward his hair from the crown of his head; and of all the honors conferred upon him by the Senate and people, there was none which he either accepted or used with greater pleasure, than the right of wearing constantly a laurel crown. It is said that he was particular in his dress. For he
used

used the *Latus Clavus** with fringes about the wrists, and always had it girded about him but loosely. This circumstance gave origin to the expression of Sylla, who often advised the nobility to beware of "the loose-coated boy."

XLVI. He first lived in Suburra in a small house; but after his advancement to the Pontificate, in a house belonging to the State in the Sacred Way. Many writers say that he affected neatness in his person, and niceness in his entertainments: that he entirely took down again a country-seat, near the grove of Aricia, which he erected from the foundation, and finished at a vast expence, because it had not exactly suited his fancy, though he was at that time poor and in debt; and that he carried about in his expeditions marble pavement for his tent.

XLVII. They likewise report that he invaded Britain in hopes of finding pearls, the bigness of which he would compare together, and examine the weight by poisoning them in his hand: that he would purchase at any cost gems, carved works, and pictures, executed by the eminent masters of antiquity; and that he would give for handsome young slaves a price so extravagant, that he was ashamed to have it entered in the diary of his expences.

XLVIII. The same authors inform us, that he constantly kept two tables in the provinces, one for the of-

* The *Latus Clavus* was a broad stripe of purple, in the form of a ribbon, sewed to the tunic on the fore part. There were properly two such; and it was broad, to distinguish it from that of the Equites, who wore a narrow one.

ficers of the army, or the gentlemen of the provinces, and the other for such of the Roman gentry as had no commission in the troops, and provincials of the first distinction. He was so very exact in the management of his domestic affairs, both small and great, that he once put a baker in fetters, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than his guests; and put to death a freed-man, and a particular favorite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, though no complaint had been made to him of the affair.

XLIX. The only stain upon his chastity was his behaviour in the court of Nicomedes; and that indeed stuck close to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to much bitter raillery. I pass over those well known verses of Calvus Licinius;

Bithynia quicquid
Et pædicator Cæsaris unquam habuit.

Whate'er Bithynia and her Lord possess'd,
Her Lord who Cæsar in his lust carest'd.

As well as the speeches of Dolabella and Curio the father, in which the former calls him "the queen's rival, and the back-side of the royal couch," and the latter, "the brothel of Nicomedes, and the Bithynian stew." I would likewise say nothing of the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaimed his colleague under the name of "the queen of Bithynia;" adding that "he had formerly been in love with a king, but was now without a kingdom." At which time, as M. Brutus relates, one Octavius, a man of a crazy brain, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a great assembly saluted Pompey by the title of king, addressed Cæsar by that of queen. C. Memmius likewise upbraided him
with

with serving the king at table, among the rest of his catamites, in the presence of a large company, in which were some merchants from Rome, the names of whom he mentions. But Cicero, not content with writing in some of his letters, that he was conducted by the guards into the king's bed-chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of scarlet, and that the bloom of this descendant of Venus had been tarnished in Bithynia; upon Cæsar's pleading the cause of Nyfa, Nicomedes's daughter, before the Senate, and recounting the king's kindnesses to him, replied, "Pray, tell us no more of that; for it is well known what he gave you, and you gave him." To conclude, his foldiers in the Gallic triumph, amongst other verses, such as they jocularly sung, in their attendance upon the general's chariot, on those occasions, recited these, since that time become extremely common:

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsaŕem :
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias :
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsaŕem.

Cæsar, the Gauls who vanquish'd in the field,
Was made to shame by Nicomede to yield :
A glorious triumph Cæsar now employs,
But the Bithynian victor none enjoys.

L. It is admitted by all that he was much addicted to women, as well as very expensive in his intrigues with them, and that he debauched many ladies of the highest quality; among whom were Posthumia the wife of Servius Sulpicius, Lollia the wife of Aulus Gabinus, Ter-tulla the wife of M. Crassus, and likewise Mucia the wife of Cn. Pompey. For it is certain that the Curio's, father and son, and many others, objected to Pompey in reproach, "That, to gratify his ambition, he married the
daughter

daughter of a man, upon whose account he had divorced his wife, after having had three children by her, and whom he used, with a heavy sigh, to call *Ægisthus*." But the mistress whom of all he most loved, was *Servilia*, the mother of *M. Brutus*; for whom he purchased in his Consulship next after the commencement of their intrigue, a pearl which cost him six millions of sesterces; and in the civil war, besides other presents, consigned to her, for a trifling consideration, some valuable estates in land, which were exposed to public auction. When many persons wondered at the lowness of the price, *Cicero* facetiously observed, "To let you know how much better a purchase this is than ye imagine, *Tertia* is deducted:" for *Servilia* was supposed to have prostituted her daughter *Tertia* to *Cæsar*.

LI. That he had intrigues likewise with married women in the provinces, appears from this distich, which was as much repeated in the Gallic triumph as the former :

Urbani, servate uxores; mœchum calvum adducimus :
Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, heic sumpstisti mutuum.

Watch well your wives, ye cits, we bring a blade,
A bald-pate master of the wenching trade.
Thy gold was spent on many a Gallic w——e ;
Exhausted now, thou com'st to borrow more.

LII. In the number of his mistresses, were also some queens, such as *Eunoë*, a moor, the wife of *Bogudes*, to whom and her husband he made, as *Naso* reports, many large presents. But his greatest favorite was *Cleopatra*, with whom he often reveled all night till day-break, and would have gone with her through *Egypt* in a pleasure-boat, as far as *Æthiopia*, had not the army refused to fol-
low

low him. He afterwards invited her to Rome, whence he sent her back loaded with honors and presents, and gave her permission to call by his name a son, who, according to the testimony of some Greek historians, resembled Cæsar both in person and gait. M. Anthony declared in the Senate, that Cæsar had acknowledged the child as his own; and that C. Mattius, C. Oppius, and the rest of Cæsar's friends knew it to be true. On which occasion Oppius, as if it had been an imputation which he was called upon to refute, published a book to shew, "that the child which Cleopatra fathered upon Cæsar, was not his." Helvius Cinna, Tribune of the commons, told several persons as a fact, that he had a bill ready drawn up, which Cæsar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, that, with the view of procuring issue, he might contract marriage with any one female, or as many as he pleased; and to leave no room for doubt of his passing under an infamous character for unnatural lewdness and adultery, Curio, the father, says, in one of his speeches, "He was the husband of every woman, and the wife of every man."

LIII. It is acknowledged even by his enemies, that in respect of wine he was abstemious. A remark is ascribed to M. Cato, "that he was the only sober man amongst all those who were engaged in a design to subvert the government." For, in regard to diet, C. Oppius informs us, he was so indifferent for his own part, that when a person in whose house he was entertained, had served him, instead of fresh oil, with oil which had some sort of seasoning in it, and which the rest of the company would not touch, he alone ate very heartily of it, that he might not seem to tax the master of the house with inelegance or want of attention.

LIV. He

LIV. He never discovered any great regard to moderation, either in his command of the army, or civil offices; for we have the testimony of some writers, that he requested money of the Proconsul his predecessor in Spain, and the Roman allies in that quarter, for the discharge of his debts; and some towns of the Lusitanians, notwithstanding they attempted no resistance to his arms, and opened to him their gates, upon his arrival before them, he plundered in a hostile manner. In Gaul, he rifled the chapels and temples of the gods, which were filled with rich presents; and demolished cities oftener for the sake of plunder, than for any offence they had given him. By this means gold became so plentiful with him, that he exchanged it through Italy and the provinces of the empire for three thousand sesterces the pound. In his first Consulship he stole out of the Capitol three thousand pound weight of gold, and placed in the room of it the same weight of gilt brass. He bartered likewise to foreign nations and princes, for gold, the titles of allies and kings; and squeezed out of Ptolemy alone near six thousand talents, in the name of himself and Pompey. He afterwards supported the expence of the civil wars, and of his triumphs and public shows, by the most flagrant rapine and sacrilege.

LV. In point of eloquence and military achievements, he equalled at least, if he did not surpass the greatest men. After his prosecution of Dolabella, he was indisputably esteemed among the most distinguished pleaders. Cicero, in recounting to Brutus the famous orators, declares, "he does not see that Cæsar was inferior to any one of them; that he had an elegant, splendid, noble, and magnificent vein of eloquence." And in a letter to C. Nepos, he writes of him in the following terms:
"what!

“ what ! which of all the orators, who, during the whole course of their lives, have done nothing else, can you prefer before him ? which of them is ever more pointed in expression, or more often commands your applause ? ” In his youth, he seems to have chosen Strabo Cæsar as his model : out of whose oration for the Sardinians he has transcribed some passages literally into his *Divinatio*. He is said to have delivered himself with a shrill voice, and an animated action, which was graceful. He has left behind him some speeches, among which are a few not genuine ; as that for Q. Metellus. These Augustus supposes, and with reason, to be the production of blundering writers of short hand, who were not able to follow him in the delivery, rather than any thing published by himself. For I find in some copies the title is not “ for Metellus,” but “ what he wrote to Metellus ; ” whereas the speech is delivered in the name of Cæsar, vindicating Metellus and himself from the aspersions cast upon them by their common defamers. The speech addressed “ to his soldiers in Spain,” Augustus considers likewise as spurious. Under this title we meet with two ; one made, as is pretended, in the first battle, and the other in the last ; at which time Asinius Pollio says, he had not leisure to address the soldiers, on account of the sudden assault of the enemy.

LVI. He has likewise left Commentaries of his own transactions both in the Gallic and the civil war with Pompey ; for the author of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars is not known with any certainty. Some think they are the production of Oppius, and some of Hirtius ; the latter of whom composed the last book, but an imperfect one, of the Gallic war. Of those memoirs of Cæsar, Cicero in his *Brutus* speaks thus : “ He wrote his memoirs
in

in a manner that greatly deserves approbation: they are plain, precise, and elegant, without any affectation of ornament. In having thus prepared materials for such as might be inclined to compose his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some silly creatures to enter upon such a work, who will needs be dressing up his actions in all the extravagance of bombast; but he has discouraged wise men from ever attempting the subject." Hirtius delivers his opinion of the same memoirs in the following terms: "So great is the approbation with which they are universally perused, that, instead of exciting, he seems to have precluded the efforts of any future historian. Yet with regard to this subject, we have more reason to admire him than others: for they only know how well and correctly he has written, but we know likewise how easily and quickly he did it." Pollio Asinius thinks that they were not drawn up with much care, or with a due regard to truth: for he insinuates that Cæsar was too hasty of belief with respect to what was performed by others under him; and that, in respect of what he transacted in person, he has not given a very faithful account; either with design, or through a defect of memory; expressing at the same time an opinion that Cæsar intended a new and more correct production on the subject. He has left behind him likewise two books of Analogy, with the same number under the title of Anti-Cato, and a poem entitled The Journey. Of these books he composed the first two, in his passage over the Alps, as he was returning to his army from holding the assizes in Hither Gaul; the second work about the time of the battle of Munda; and the last during the four and twenty days he was upon his expedition from Rome to Farther Spain. There are extant some letters of his to the Senate, written in a manner never practised by any.

before

before him : for they are distinguished into pages in the form of a pocket-book ; whereas the Consuls and Generals, till then, used constantly in their letters to continue the line quite across the sheet, without any folding or distinction of pages. There are extant likewise some letters from him to Cicero, and others to his friends concerning his domestic affairs ; in which, if there was occasion for secrecy, he used the alphabet in such a manner, that not a single word could be made out. The way to decipher those epistles was to substitute *d* for *a*, and so of the other letters respectively. Some things likewise pass under his name, said to have been written by him when a boy, or a very young man ; as the Encomium of Hercules, a tragedy entitled *Œdipus*, and a collection of Apophthegms ; all which Augustus forbid to be published, in a short and plain letter to Pompeius Macer, whom he had appointed to direct the arrangement of his libraries.

LVII. He was a perfect master of his weapons, a complete horseman, and able to endure fatigue beyond all belief. Upon a march, he used to go at the head of his troops, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, with his head bare in all kinds of weather. He would travel in a post-chaise at the rate of a hundred miles a day, and pass rivers in his way by swimming, or supported with leathern bags filled with wind, so that he often prevented all intelligence of his approach.

LVIII. In his expeditions, it is difficult to say whether his caution or boldness was most conspicuous. He never marched his army by a rout which was liable to any ambush of the enemy, without having previously examined the situation of the places by his scouts. Nor did he pass
over

over into Britain, before he had made due enquiry respecting the navigation, the harbours, and the most convenient access to the island. But when advice was brought to him of the siege of a camp of his in Germany, he made his way to his men, through the enemy's guards, in a Gallic habit. He crossed the sea from Brundisium and Dyrrachium, in the winter, through the midst of the enemy's fleets; and the troops which he had ordered to follow him not making that haste which he expected, after he had several times sent messengers to expedite them, in vain, he at last went privately, and alone, aboard a small vessel in the night time, with his head muffled up: nor did he discover who he was, or suffer the master to desist from prosecuting the voyage, though the wind blew strong against them, until they were ready to sink.

LIX. He was never discouraged from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by any ill omens. When a victim which he was about to offer in sacrifice, had made its escape, he did not therefore defer his expedition against Scipio and Juba. And happening to fall, upon stepping out of the ship, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by exclaiming, "I hold thee fast, Africa." In ridicule of the prophecies which were spread abroad, as if the name of the Scipio's was, by the decrees of fate, fortunate and invincible in that province, he retained in the camp a profligate wretch, of the family of the Cornelii, who, on account of his scandalous life, was surnamed Salutio.

LX. He engaged in battle not only upon previous deliberation, but upon the sudden when an occasion presented itself; often immediately after a march, and sometimes during the most dismal weather, when nobody could
imagine

imagine he would stir. Nor was he ever backward in fighting, until towards the end of his life. He then was of opinion, that the oftener he had come off with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards; and that he could never acquire so much by any victory, as he might lose by a miscarriage. He never defeated an enemy whom he did not at the same time drive out of their camp; so warmly did he pursue his advantage, that he gave them no time to rally their force. When the issue of a battle was doubtful, he sent away all the officers' horses, and in the first place his own, that being deprived of that convenience for flight, they might be under the greater necessity of standing their ground.

LXI. He rode a very remarkable horse, with feet almost like those of a man, his hoofs being divided in such a manner as to have some resemblance to toes. This horse he had bred himself, and took particular care of, because the soothsayers interpreted those circumstances into an omen, that the possessor of him would be master of the world. He backed him too himself, for the horse would suffer no other rider; and he afterwards erected a statue of him before the temple of Venus Genitrix.

LXII. He often alone, by his courage and activity, restored the fortune of a battle; opposing and stopping such of his troops as fled, and turning them by the jaws upon the enemy; though many of them were so terrified, that a standard-bearer, upon his stopping him, made a pass at him; and another, upon a similar occasion, left his standard in his hand.

LXIII. The following instances of his resolution are equally, and even more remarkable. After the battle of

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Pharsalia,

Pharfalia, having fent his troops before him into Asia, as he was passing the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with L. Cassius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war; whom he was so far from avoiding, that he advanced close up to him; when, advising him to surrender, and the other complying, he took him into the boat.

LXIV. At Alexandria, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden fall of the enemy into a boat, and several hurrying in with him, he leaped into the sea, and saved himself by swimming to the next ship, which lay at the distance of two hundred paces; holding up his left hand out of the water, for fear of wetting some papers which he held in it; and pulling his general's cloak after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

LXV. He never estimated a soldier by his manners or fortune, but by his strength alone; and treated them with equal severity and indulgence; for he did not always keep a strict hand over them, except when an enemy was near. Then indeed he was so rigorous an exactor of discipline, that he would give no notice of march or battle, until the moment he was to enter upon them; that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden movement; and he would frequently draw them out of the camp, without any necessity for it, especially in rainy weather, and upon holy-days. Sometimes, giving them warning to watch him, he would suddenly withdraw himself by day or night, and would oblige them to long marches, on purpose to tire them, if they were tardy.

LXVI. When at any time his soldiers were discouraged by reports of the great force of the enemy, he recovered them,

them, not by denying the truth of what was said, or by diminishing the fact, but on the contrary, by exaggerating every particular. Accordingly, when his troops were under great apprehensions of the arrival of king Juba, he called them together, and said, "I have to inform you that in a very few days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light-armed foot, and three hundred elephants. Let none therefore presume to make any farther enquiry, or to give their opinion upon the subject, but take my word for what I tell you, which I have from undoubted intelligence; otherwise I shall put them aboard a crazy old vessel, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds."

LXVII. He neither took notice of all their faults, nor proportioned his punishments to the nature of them. But after deserters and mutineers he made the most diligent enquiry, and punished them severely: other delinquents he would connive at. Sometimes, after a successful battle, he would grant them a relaxation from all kinds of duty, and leave them to revel at pleasure; being used to boast, "that his soldiers fought nothing the worse for being perfumed." In his speeches, he never addressed them by the title of "Soldiers," but by the softer appellation of "Fellow-soldiers;" and kept them in such fine condition, that their arms were ornamented with silver and gold, not only for the purpose of making the better appearance, but to render the soldiers more tenacious of them in battle, from their value. He loved his troops to such a degree, that when he heard of the disaster of those under Titurius, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard, until he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he engaged extremely their affection, and rendered them to the last degree brave.

LXVIII. Upon his entering into the civil war, the centurions of every legion offered, each of them to maintain a horseman at his own expence, and the whole army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay; those amongst them who were rich charging themselves with the maintenance of the poor. No one of them, during the whole course of the war, went over to the enemy; and most of those who were made prisoners, though they were offered their lives, upon the condition of bearing arms against him, refused to accept the terms. They endured want, and other hardships, not only when themselves were besieged, but when they besieged others, to such a degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they lived upon, said, "I have to do with wild beasts," and ordered it immediately to be taken away; because, if his troops should see it, they might be impressed with a dangerous apprehension of the hardness and desperate resolution of the enemy. With what bravery they fought, one instance affords sufficient proof; which is, that after an unsuccessful engagement at Dyrrachium, they desired him to punish them; insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than punish them. In other battles, in different parts, they defeated with ease immense armies of the enemy, though they were much inferior to them in number. To conclude, one battalion of the sixth legion held out a fort against four legions belonging to Pompey, during several hours; being almost every one of them wounded, by the vast number of arrows discharged against them, and of which there were found within the ramparts a hundred and thirty thousand. This is no way surprising, when we consider the behaviour of some individuals amongst them; such as that of Cassius

lius Scæva, or C. Acilius a common foldier. Scæva, after he had an eye struck out, was run through the thigh and the shoulder, and had his shield pierced in a hundred and twenty places, maintained obstinately the guard of a gate in a fort, with the command of which he was entrusted. Acilius, in the sea-fight at Marfeilles, having seized a ship of the enemy with his right hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable instance of resolution in Cynægirus amongst the Greeks, leaped into the ship, bearing down all before him with the bos of his shield.

LXIX. They never once mutinied during all the ten years of the Gallic war, but were sometimes a little refractory in the course of the civil war. They always however returned quickly to their duty, and that not through the compliance, but the authority of their general: for he never gave ground, but constantly opposed them on such occasions. The whole ninth legion he dismissed with ignominy at Placentia, though Pompey was at that time in arms; and would not receive them again into his service, until not only they had made the most humble submission and entreaty, but that the ringleaders in the mutiny were punished.

LXX. When the foldiers of the tenth legion at Rome demanded their discharge, and rewards for their service, with great threats, and no small danger to the city, though at that time the war was warmly carried on against him in Africa, he immediately, notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends, who endeavored to prevent him from taking such a measure, came up to the legion, and disbanded it. But addressing them by the title of "Quirites," instead of "Soldiers," he by this single word so

thoroughly regained their affections, that they immediately cried out, they were his "soldiers," and followed him into Africa, though he had refused their service. He nevertheless punished the most seditious amongst them, with the loss of a third of their share in the plunder, and the land which had been intended for them.

LXXI. In the service of his clients, while yet a young man, he evinced great zeal and fidelity. He defended the cause of a noble youth, Mafintha, against king Hiempfal, so strenuously, that in a wrangle which happened upon the occasion, he seized by the beard the son of king Juba; and upon Mafintha being declared tributary to Hiempfal, while the friends of the adverse party were violently carrying him off, he immediately rescued him by force, kept him concealed in his house a long time, and when, at the expiration of his Prætorship, he went to Spain, he carried him with him in his litter, amidst his serjeants, and others who had come to attend and take leave of him,

LXXII. He always treated his friends with that good nature and kindness, that when C. Oppius, in travelling with him through a forest, was suddenly taken ill, he resigned to him the only place there was to lodge in at night, and lay himself upon the ground, and in the open air. When he had come to have in his own hands the whole power of the commonwealth, he advanced some of his faithful adherents, though of mean extraction, to the highest posts in the government. And when he was censured for this partiality, he openly said, "Had I been assisted by robbers and cut-throats in the defence of my honor, I should have made them the same recompense."

LXXIII. He

LXXIII. He never in any quarrel conceived so implacable a resentment, as not very willingly to renounce it when an opportunity occurred. Though C. Memmius had published some extremely virulent speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal acrimony, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood candidate for the Consulship. When C. Calvus, after publishing some scandalous epigrams against him, endeavored to effect a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he wrote of his own accord the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself observed, in his verses upon Mamurra, put such a stain upon his character as never could be obliterated, begged his pardon, he invited him to supper the same day; and continued to take up his lodging with his father occasionally, as he had been accustomed to do,

LXXIV. His disposition was naturally averse to severity in retaliation. After he had made the pirates, by whom he had been taken, prisoners, because he had sworn he would crucify them, he did so indeed; but previously to the execution of that sentence, ordered their throats to be cut. He could never bear the thought of doing any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, who had trepanned him in the night, with the design of carrying him to Sylla; and from whose custody, not without much difficulty and a large bribe likewise, he had been able to extricate himself. Philemon, his secretary, who had made a promise to his enemies to poison him, he put to death only, without torture. When he was summoned as a witness against P. Clodius, his wife Pompeia's gallant, who was prosecuted for a pollution of religious ceremonies, he declared he knew nothing of the affair, though his mother Aurelia, and his sister Julia, gave the court an exact

and full account of the transaction. And being asked, why then he had divorced his wife? "Because, said he, I would have those of my family untainted, not only with guilt, but with the suspicion of it likewise."

LXXV. Both in the administration of government, and his behaviour towards the vanquished party in the civil war, he shewed a wonderful moderation and clemency. And whilst Pompey declared that he would consider all those as enemies, who did not take arms in defence of the republic, he desired it to be understood, that he should regard all those who remained neuter as his friends. In respect of all those to whom he had, on Pompey's recommendation, given any command in the army, he left them at perfect liberty to go over to him, if they pleased. When some proposals were made at Ilerda for a surrender, which gave rise to a free communication between the two camps, and Afranius and Petreius, upon a sudden change of resolution, had put to the sword all Cæsar's men that were found in the camp, he scorned to imitate the base treachery which they had practised against himself. In the field of Pharsalia, he called out to the soldiers "to spare their fellow-citizens," and afterwards gave liberty to every man in his army to save an enemy. None of them, so far as appears, lost their lives but in battle, excepting only Afranius, Faustus, and young Lucius Cæsar; and it is thought that even they were put to death without his consent. Afranius and Faustus had borne arms against him, after their pardon had been granted them; and L. Cæsar had not only in the most cruel manner destroyed with fire and sword his freedmen and slaves, but cut to pieces the wild beasts which he had prepared for the entertainment of the people. And finally, a little before his death, he granted liberty to all whom
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he had not before pardoned, to return into Italy, and admitted them to a capacity of bearing offices both civil and military. He even erected again the statues of Sylla and Pompey, which had been thrown down by the populace. And any machinations against him, or reflections upon him, he chose rather to put a stop to, than punish. Accordingly, with regard to any conspiracies against him which were discovered, or nightly cabals, he went no farther than to intimate by a proclamation that he knew of them; and as to those who indulged themselves in the liberty of reflecting severely upon him, he only warned them in a public speech not to persist in their obloquy. He bore with great moderation a virulent libel written against him by Aulus Cæcinna, and the abusive lampoons of Pitholaüs, most highly reflecting on his reputation.

LXXVI. His other actions and declarations, however, with regard to the public, so far outweigh all his good qualities, that it is thought he abused his power, and was justly cut off. For he not only accepted of excessive honors, as the Consulship every year successively, the Dictatorship for life, and the Superintendency of the public manners, but likewise the title of Imperator, and the Father of his country, besides a statue amongst the kings, and a throne in the place allotted to the Senators in the theatre. He even suffered some things to be decreed for him, that were unsuitable to the greatest of human kind; such as a golden chair in the Senate-house, and upon the bench when he sat for the trial of causes, a stately chariot in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, images near the Gods, a bed of state in the temples, a peculiar priest, and a college of priests, like those appointed in honor of Pan, and that one of the months

should be called by his name. He indeed both assumed to himself, and granted to others, every kind of distinction at pleasure. In his third and fourth Consulship, he had only the title of the office, being content with the power of Dictator, which was conferred upon him at the same time; and in both years he substituted other Consuls in his room, during the three last months; so that in the intervals he held no assemblies of the people, for the election of magistrates, excepting only Tribunes and *Ædiles* of the commons; and appointed officers, under the name of *Præfects*, instead of the *Prætors*, to administer the affairs of the city during his absence. The honor of the Consulship, which had just become vacant by the sudden death of one of the Consuls, he instantly conferred, the day before the first of January, upon a person who requested it of him, for a few hours. With the same unwarrantable freedom, regardless of the constant usage of his country, he nominated the magistrates for several years to come. He granted the insignia of the Consular dignity to ten persons of *Prætorian* rank. He called up into the Senate some who had been made free of the city, and even natives of Gaul, who were little better than barbarians. He likewise appointed to the management of the mint, and the public revenue of the state, some of his own servants; and entrusted the command of three legions, which he left at Alexandria, to an old catamite of his, the son of his freed-man *Rufinus*.

LXXVII. He gave way to the same extravagance in his public conversation, as *T. Ampius* informs us; according to whom he said, “The commonwealth is nothing but a name, without substance, or so much as the appearance of any. *Sylla* was an illiterate fellow to lay
down

down the Dictatorship. Men ought to be more cautious in their converse with me, and look upon what I say as a law." To such a pitch of arrogance did he proceed, that when a sooth-sayer brought him word, that the entrails of a victim opened for sacrifice were without a heart; he said, "The entrails will be more favorable when I please; and it ought not to be regarded as any ill omen if a beast should be destitute of a heart."

LXXVIII. But what brought upon him the greatest and most invincible odium, was his receiving the whole body of the Senate sitting, when they came to wait upon him before the temple of Venus Genitrix, with many honorable decrees in his favor. Some say, as he attempted to rise, he was held down by Corn. Balbus. Others say, he did not attempt it at all, but looked somewhat displeased at C. Trebatius, who put him in mind of standing up. This behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him, because, when one of the Tribunes of the commons, Pontius Aquila, would not rise up to him, as in his triumph he passed by the place where they sat, he was so much offended, that he cried out, "Well then, master Tribune, take the government out of my hands." And for some days after, he never promised a favor to any person, without this proviso, "if Pontius Aquila will allow of it."

LXXIX. To this extraordinary affront upon the Senate, he added an action yet more outrageous. For when, after the sacrifice of the Latin festival, he was returning home, amidst the incessant and unusual acclamations of the people, one of the crowd put upon a statue of him a laurel crown, with a white ribbon tied round

round it, and the Tribunes of the commons, Epidius Marullus, and Cæsetius Flavus, ordered the ribbon to be taken away, and the man to be carried to prison; being much concerned either that the mention of his advancement to regal power had been so unluckily made, or, as he pretended, that the glory of refusing it had been thus taken from him, he reprimanded the Tribunes very severely, and dismissed them both from their office. From that day forward, he was never able to wipe off the scandal of affecting the name of king; though he replied to the people, when they saluted him by that title, "My name is Cæsar, not King." And at the feast of the Lupercalia *, when the Consul Anthony in the Rostra put a crown upon his head several times, he as often put it away, and sent it into the Capitol to Jupiter. A report was extremely current, that he had a design of removing to Alexandria or Ilium, whither he proposed to transfer the strength of the empire, to drain Italy by new levies, and to leave the government of the city to be administered by his friends. To this report it was added, that in the next meeting of the Senate, L. Cotta, one of the fifteen commissioners entrusted with the care of the † Sibyl's

* The *Lupercalia* was a festival, celebrated in a place called *Lupercal*, in the month of February, in honor of Pan. During the solemnity, the *Luperci*, or priests of that God, ran up and down the city naked, with only a girdle of goat's skin round their waist, and thongs of the same in their hands; with which they struck those they met, particularly married women, who were thence supposed to be rendered prolific.

† The origin of these celebrated books is said to have been as follows. A certain woman, named Amalthæa, came from a foreign country to Tarquinius Superbus, wishing to sell

byl's books, would make a motion in the house, that as there was in those books a prophecy, that the Parthians fell nine books of Sibylline or prophetic oracles. Upon Tarquin's refusal to give her the price which she asked, she went away and burnt three of them; returning soon after, and demanding the same price for the remaining six. Being now ridiculed by the king, as a senseless old woman, she went, and burnt other three; and coming back, demanded, as before, the same price for the three which remained. Tarquin, surprised at the strange conduct of the woman, consulted the Augurs what he should do. They, regretting the loss of the books which had been destroyed, advised the king to give the price required. The woman therefore delivered the books, and having desired them to be carefully kept, disappeared. Tarquin committed the care of those books to two men of illustrious birth, one of whom, proving unfaithful to his trust, he is said to have punished, by ordering him to be sewed up alive in a sack, and thrown into the sea; the mode of punishment afterwards inflicted upon parricides. The number of persons appointed to the care of those oracles was increased, at different times, to ten, fifteen, and by Julius Cæsar to sixteen. The Sibylline books were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman government, and therefore, upon occasions of public danger or calamity, the keepers were frequently ordered by the Senate to consult those oracular productions. They were deposited in a stone chest, under ground, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; but the Capitol being burnt in the time of the Marston war, the Sibylline books perished with it. To supply this loss, we are informed by Tacitus that ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls; for there were other women of this denomination besides Amalthæa who came to Tarquin. One of them, the Erythræan Sibyl, Cicero tells us, used to utter her oracles with such ambiguity, that whatever happened, she might seem to have predicted it.

should

should never be subdued but by a king, Cæsar should have that title conferred upon him.

LXXX. This was the reason why the conspirators against his life precipitated the execution of their design, lest they should be obliged to comply with the proposal. Instead therefore of caballing any longer separately, in small parties, they now united their counsels; the people themselves being dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, both privately and publicly condemning the tyranny under which they labored, and calling out for some patriots to assert their cause against the usurper. Upon the admission of foreigners into the Senate, a billet was posted up in these words: "A good deed: that no one should shew a new Senator the way to the house." These verses were likewise currently repeated:

Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit: iidem in curia
Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

The vanquish'd Gauls, triumphant from distress,
Have chang'd their *braccæ* for Patrician dress.

When Q. Maximus, who had been deputed by him for the last three months of his Consulship, entered the theatre, and his officer, according to custom, bid the people take notice who was coming, they all cried out, "He is no Consul." After the removal of Cæsetius and Marullus from their office, they were found to have a great many votes at the next election of Consuls. Some wrote under the statue of L. Brutus, "Would you were alive!" and under the statue of Cæsar himself these lines:

Brutus, quia régés ejecit, Consul primus factus est:
Hic, quia Consules ejecit, rex postremo factus est.

Brutus,

Brutus, because he drove the royal race
From Rome, was first made Consul in their place.
This man, because he put the Consuls down,
Has been rewarded with a regal crown.

Above sixty persons were engaged in the conspiracy against him, the chief of whom were C. Cassius, M. and Decimus Brutus. It was at first debated amongst them, whether they should attack him in the Field of Mars, as he was summoning the tribes to vote, and some of them should throw him off the bridge, whilst others should be ready to stab him upon his fall; or else in the Sacred Way, or in the entrance of the theatre. But after public notice was given by proclamation for the Senate to assemble upon the Ides of March, in the Senate-house built by Pompey, they approved both of the time and place, as most proper for their purpose.

LXXXI. Cæsar had warning given him of his fate by several plain prodigies. A few months before, when some of the colony settled, by virtue of a law proposed by himself, at Capua, were demolishing some old sepulchres, for the building of country-houses, and were the more eager in that work, because they discovered some vessels of antique workmanship; a table of brass was found in a tomb, in which Capys the founder of Capua was said to be buried, with an inscription in the Greek language to this effect: "Whenever the bones of Capys come to be discovered, a descendent of Julius will be slain by the hands of his relations, and his death revenged by dreadful devastations throughout Italy." Lest any person should regard this anecdote as a fabulous story, it was circulated upon the authority of C. Balbus, an intimate friend of Cæsar's. A few days likewise before his death, some horses, which, upon his passing the Rubicon,

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con, he had consecrated, and let loose to graze without any keeper, he was informed, abstained entirely from eating, and wept copiously. The sooth-sayer Spurinna, upon the credit of some ominous appearances in a sacrifice which he was offering, advised him to beware of danger; otherwise that some mischief would befall him before the Ides of March were over. The day immediately preceding the Ides, birds of various kinds from a neighbouring grove, pursuing a wren which flew into Pompey's Senate-house, with a sprig of laurel in its bill, tore it there all in pieces. The night too before the day of his being slain, he dreamed that he had got above the clouds, and had shaken hands with Jupiter. His wife Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the roof of the house was tumbling down, and her husband stabbed in her bosom; immediately upon which the chamber-doors flew open. On account not only of these omens, but his bad state of health, he was in some doubt whether he should not keep at home, and delay to some other time the business which he intended to propose to the Senate; but Decimus Brutus advising him not to disappoint the Senators who were met in a full house, and waited his coming, he was prevailed upon to go, and accordingly set forward about five o'clock. In his way, there was put into his hands a paper, containing an account of the plot, which he mixed with some other papers he held in his left hand, as if he would read it by and by. Notwithstanding victim after victim was slain, without any favorable appearances in the entrails, he, disregarding all those admonitions, entered the house, laughing at Spurinna as a false prophet, because the Ides of March were come, without any mischief having befallen him. To which the sooth-sayer replied, "They are come, indeed, but not past."

LXXXII. When

LXXXII. When he had sat down, the conspirators gathered about him under color of paying their compliments; and immediately Cimber Tullius, who had engaged to begin the onset, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favor to request of him, Cæsar made signs to him to defer it to some other time. The former immediately seized him by the toga, upon both shoulders; at which the latter crying out, "This is plain violence," one of the Cassius's wounded him a little below the throat. Cæsar laid hold of him by the arm, and ran it through with his style*; and endeavoring to rush forward, was stopped by another wound. Finding himself now attacked on all hands with drawn swords, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and at the same time drew the lap of it over his legs, that he might fall the more decently, with the lower part of his body covered. He was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, fetching a groan only upon the first wound; though some authors relate, that when M. Brutus came upon him, he said, "What! art thou one of them too, thou, my son †?" The conspirators dispersing themselves

* The *stylus* or *graphium* was an iron pencil, broad at one end, with a sharp point at the other, used for writing upon waxen tables, the leaves or bark of trees, plates of brass, or lead, &c. For writing upon paper or parchment, the Romans employed a reed, sharpened and split in the point like our pens, called *calamus*, *arundo*, or *canna*. This they dipped in a black liquor emitted by the cuttle fish, and which served them as ink.

† This passage is translated as it stands in most of the editions of Suetonius: but these words are not in the Salmasian copy, and I am strongly inclined to reject their authority. It is extremely improbable that Cæsar, who had never before avowed Brutus to be his son, should make so unnecessary

themselves upon the perpetration of the act, he lay for some time after he was dead, until three of his slaves put the body into a chair, and carried it home, with one of the chair-poles hanging lower than the rest, for want of a fourth man to bear it. Amongst so many wounds, there was none mortal, in the opinion of the surgeon Antistius, but the second, which he received in the breast. The conspirators once intended to drag his body, after they had killed him, into the Tiber, to confiscate his estate, and cancel all the acts of his administration; but from fear of M. Antony, and Lepidus, Master of the horse to Cæsar as Dictator, they relinquished the design.

LXXXIII. At the instance of L. Piso his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in M. Antony's house, which he had made on the Ides of the preceding September, at a country-seat of his near Lavicum, and had committed to the custody of the eldest of the Vestal Virgins. Q. Tubero informs us, that in all his wills, made from the time of his first Consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cn. Pompey was his heir, and the same was notified in a public manner to the army. But in his last, he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters; C. Oc-

an acknowledgement to that purpose, at the moment of his death. Exclusive of this objection, the apostrophe seems too verbose, both for the suddenness and celerity of the occasion. But this is not all. Can we suppose that Cæsar, though a perfect master of the Greek, would at such a time have expressed himself in that language, rather than the Latin, his familiar tongue, and in which he spoke with peculiar elegance? Upon the whole, the probability is, that the words uttered by Cæsar were, *Et tu Brute!* which, while equally expressive of astonishment with the other, and even of tenderness, are both more natural, and more emphatic.

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tavius for three fourths of his estate, and L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius for the fourth between them: the other heirs in remainder were specified towards the conclusion of the will. He likewise adopted C. Octavius into his family, with an intention that he should assume his name. Most of those who were concerned in his death he had named amongst the guardians of his son, if he should have any; and D. Brutus amongst the second heirs. He left as a legacy to the people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sesterces each man.

LXXXIV. The time for his funeral being fixed by proclamation, a pile was erected in the Field of Mars, near the tomb of his daughter Julia; and before the *Rostra* a gilt tabernacle, in the form of the temple of Venus Genitrix; within which was an ivory bed, covered with scarlet and cloth of gold. At the head was a trophy, with the garment in which he was slain. Because it was thought that the whole day would not be sufficient for carrying in solemn procession before the corpse the funeral oblations, directions were given for every one, without regard to order, to carry them into the field by what way they pleased. In the plays acted at the funeral, several passages, to raise pity and indignation at his death, were sung from Pacuvius's tragedy, entitled, "The Trial for Arms."

Men' me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent ?

That ever I, unhappy man, should save

Wretches, that thus have brought me to the grave !

And some passages likewise out of Attilius's tragedy, called *Electra*, to the same effect. Instead of a funeral panegyric, the Consul Antony ordered a crier to read aloud

to the company, the decree of the Senate, in which they had bestowed upon him all honors divine and human, with the oath by which they had engaged themselves for the defence of his person; and to these he added only a few words of his own. The magistrates, and others who had formerly been in the same capacity, carried the bed from the Rostra into the Forum. While some proposed that the body should be burnt in the most sacred apartment of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and others in Pompey's Senate-house; on a sudden two men, with swords by their sides, and each a couple of lances in their hands, set fire to the bed with lighted torches. Immediately the whole company present threw in dry faggots, the desks and benches of the adjoining courts, and whatever came to hand. Then the musicians and players stripped off the cloaths they had from the furniture of his triumphs for the present occasion, tore them, and threw them into the flames. His veteran soldiers likewise cast in the armour, which they had put on to attend his funeral. Most of the ladies did the same by their ornaments, with the bullæ* and coats of their children. In this public mourning there joined a multitude of foreigners, expressing their sorrow according to the fashion of their respective countries; but especially the Jews, who for several nights together frequented the place where the body was burnt.

LXXXV. Immediately after the funeral, the populace ran with torches to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and were with difficulty obliged to retire. Going in quest of

* The *Bulla*, generally made of gold, was a hollow globe which boys wore upon their breast, pendent from a string or ribbon put round the neck. The sons of freedmen and poorer citizens used only globes of leather.

Cornelius Cinna, who had the day before in a speech reflected severely upon Cæsar, and mistaking for him Helvius Cinna, who happened to fall into their hands, they murdered the latter, and carried his head about the city on the point of a spear. They afterwards erected a column of Numidian marble, consisting of one stone near twenty feet high, and inscribed upon it these words, "*To the Father of his Country.*" At this column they continued for a long time to offer sacrifices, make vows, and decide controversies, using for that purpose an oath by the name of Cæsar.

LXXXVI. Some of Cæsar's friends entertained a conjecture, that he neither desired nor cared to live any longer, on account of his bad state of health; and for that reason slighted all the prognostics of death, and the information of his friends. Others are of opinion, that thinking himself secure in the late decree of the Senate, and their oath, he dismissed his Spanish guards that attended him with their swords. Others again suppose, that he chose rather to encounter the dangers which threatened him on all hands, than to be constantly on his guard against them. Some tell us, he used to say, that the public was more interested in the safety of his person than himself: for that he had for some time been satiated with power and glory; but that the commonwealth, if any thing should befall him, would not be quiet, and would involve itself in another civil war upon worse terms than before.

LXXXVII. This however was generally admitted, that his death was almost such a one as he desired might be his fate. For upon reading the account delivered by Xenophon, how Cyrus in his last illness gave instructions about his funeral, not liking so lingering a death, he wished that he

might have a sudden and quick one. And the day before he died, the conversation at table, in the house of M. Lepidus, turning upon what was the most eligible way of dying, he gave his opinion in favor of a death that is sudden and unexpected.

LXXXVIII. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked amongst the Gods, not only by a formal decree, but in the real persuasion of the vulgar. For during the games which his heir Augustus gave in honor of his memory, a comet blazed for seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and it was supposed to be the soul of Cæsar, now received into heaven: for which reason likewise a star is represented upon the crown of his statue. The Senate-house in which he was slain, was ordered to be kept close shut, and a decree made that the Ides of March should be called "The Parricide," and the Senate should never more assemble upon that day.

LXXXIX. Scarcely any of those who were accessory to his murder, survived him more than three years, or expired by a natural death. They were all condemned by the Senate: some were taken off by one accident, some by another. Part of them perished at sea, others fell in battle: and some slew themselves with the same poniard with which they had stabbed Cæsar.

THE termination of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey forms a new epoch in the Roman History, at which a Republic, which had subsisted with unrivalled glory during a period of about four hundred and sixty years,

years, relapsed into a state of despotism, whence it never more could emerge. So sudden a transition from prosperity to the ruin of public freedom, without the intervention of any foreign enemy, excites a reasonable conjecture, that the constitution in which it could take place, however vigorous in appearance, must have lost that soundness of political health which had enabled it to endure through so many ages. A short view of its preceding state, and of that in which it was at the time of the revolution now mentioned, will best ascertain the foundation of such a conjecture.

Though the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, made an essential change in the political form of the state, they did not carry their detestation of regal authority so far as to abolish the religious institutions of Numa Pompilius the second of their kings, according to which, the priesthood, with all the influence annexed to that order, was placed in the hands of the aristocracy. By this wise policy a restraint was put upon the fickleness and violence of the people in matters of government, and a decided superiority given to the Senate both in the deliberative and executive parts of administration. This advantage was afterwards indeed diminished by the creation of Tribunes of the people; a set of men whose ambition often embroiled the Republic in civil dissensions, and who at last abused their authority to such a degree, that they became instruments of aggrandisement to any leading men in the state, who could purchase their friendship. In general, however, the majority of the Tribunes being actuated by views which comprehended the interests of the multitude rather than those of individuals, they did not so much endanger the liberty as they interrupted the tranquillity of the public; and when the occasional com-

motions subsided, there remained no permanent ground for the establishment of personal usurpation.

In every government, an object of the last importance to the peace and welfare of society is the morals of the people; and in proportion as a community is enlarged by propagation or the accession of a multitude of new members, a more strict attention is requisite to guard against that dissolution of manners to which a crowded and extensive capital has a natural tendency. Of this the Romans became sensible in the growing state of the Republic. In the year of the City 312, two magistrates were first created for taking an account of the number of the people, and the value of their estates; and soon after they were invested with the authority not only of inspecting the morals of individuals, but of inflicting public censure for any licentiousness of conduct, or violation of decency. Thus both the civil and religious institutions concurred to restrain the people within the bounds of good order and obedience to the laws; at the same time that the frugal life of the ancient Romans proved a strong security against those vices which operate most effectually towards sapping the foundations of a state.

But in the time of Julius Cæsar the barriers of public liberty were become too weak to restrain the audacious efforts of ambitious and desperate men. The veneration for the constitution, usually a powerful check to treasonable designs, had been lately violated by the usurpations of Marius and Sylla. The salutary terrors of religion no longer predominated over the consciences of men. The shame of public censure was extinguished in general depravity. An eminent historian who lived in that time, informs us, that venality universally prevailed amongst
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the Romans; and a writer who flourished soon after observes, that luxury and dissipation had encumbered almost all so much with debt, that they beheld with a degree of complacency the prospect of civil war and confusion.

The extreme degree of profligacy at which the Romans were now arrived, is in nothing more evident, than that this age gave birth to the most horrible conspiracy which occurs in the annals of human kind, viz. that of Catiline. This was not the project of a few desperate and abandoned individuals, but of a number of men of the most illustrious rank in the state; and it appears beyond doubt, that Julius Cæsar was accessary to the design, which was no less than to extirpate the Senate, divide amongst themselves both the public and private treasures, and set Rome on fire. The causes which prompted to this tremendous project, it is generally admitted, were luxury, prodigality, irreligion, a total corruption of manners, and above all, as the immediate cause, the pressing necessity in which the conspirators were involved by their extreme dissipation.

The enormous debt in which Cæsar himself was early involved, countenances an opinion that his anxiety to procure the province of Gaul proceeded chiefly from this cause. But during nine years in which he held that province, he acquired such riches as must have rendered him; without competition, the most opulent person in the state. If nothing more, therefore, than a splendid establishment had been the object of his pursuit, he had attained to the summit of his wishes. But when we find him persevering in a plan of aggrandisement beyond this period of his fortunes, we can ascribe his conduct to no other mo-

tive than that of outrageous ambition. He projected the building of a new Forum at Rome, for the ground only of which he was to pay 800,000 pounds: he raised legions in Gaul at his own charges: he promised such entertainments to the people as had never been known at Rome from the foundation of the city. All these circumstances evince some latent design of procuring such a popularity as might give him an uncontrolled influence in the management of public affairs. Pompey, we are told, was wont to say, that Cæsar not being able, with all his riches, to fulfil the promises which he had made, wished to throw every thing into confusion. There may have been some foundation for this remark: but the opinion of Cicero is more probable, that Cæsar's mind was seduced with the temptations of chimerical glory. It is observable that neither Cicero nor Pompey intimates any suspicion that Cæsar was apprehensive of being impeached for his conduct, had he returned to Rome in a private station. Yet, that there was reason for such an apprehension, the positive declaration of L. Domitius leaves little room to doubt; especially when we consider the number of enemies that Cæsar had in the Senate, and the coolness of his former friend Pompey ever after the death of Julia. The proposed impeachment was founded upon a notorious charge of prosecuting measures destructive to the interests of the commonwealth, and tending ultimately to an object incompatible with public freedom. Indeed, considering the extreme corruption which prevailed amongst the Romans at this time, it is more than probable that Cæsar would have been acquitted of the charge, but at such an expence as must have stripped him of all his riches, and placed him again in a situation ready to attempt a disturbance of the public tranquillity. For it is said, that he purchased the friendship of Curio, at the
commencement

commencement of the civil war, with a bribe little short of half a million sterling.

Whatever Cæsar's private motive may have been for taking arms against his country, he embarked in an enterprise of a nature the most dangerous: and had Pompey conducted himself in any degree suitable to the reputation which he had formerly acquired, the contest would in all probability have terminated in favor of public freedom. But by dilatory measures in the beginning, by imprudently withdrawing his army from Italy into a distant province, and by not pursuing the advantage he had gained by the vigorous repulse of Cæsar's troops in their attack upon his camp, this commander lost every opportunity of extinguishing a war which was to determine the fate, and even the existence of the Republic. It was accordingly determined on the plains of Pharsalia, where Cæsar obtained a victory which was not more decisive than unexpected. He was now no longer amenable either to the tribunal of the Senate or the power of the laws, but triumphed at once over his enemies and the constitution of his country.

It is to the honor of Cæsar, that when he had obtained the supreme power, he exercised it with a degree of moderation beyond what was generally expected by those who had fought on the side of the Republic. Of his private life either before or after this period, little is transmitted in history. Henceforth, however, he seems to have lived chiefly at Rome, near which he had a small villa, upon an eminence commanding a beautiful prospect. His time was almost entirely occupied with public affairs, in the management of which, though he employed many agents, he appears to have had none in the character of actual minister. He was in general easy
of

of access: but Cicero, in a letter to a friend, complains of having been treated with the indignity of waiting a considerable time amongst a crowd in an anti-chamber, before he could have an audience. The elevation of Cæsar placed him not above discharging reciprocally the social duties in the intercourse of life. He returned the visits of those who waited upon him, and would sup at their houses. At table, and in the use of wine, he was habitually temperate. Upon the whole, he added nothing to his own happiness by all the dangers, the fatigues, and the perpetual anxiety which he had incurred in the prosecution of unlimited power. His health was greatly impaired: his former cheerfulness of temper, but never his magnanimity, appears to have forsaken him; and we behold in his fate a memorable example of illustrious talents rendered, by inordinate ambition, destructive to himself, and irretrievably pernicious to his country.

From beholding the ruin of the Roman Republic, after intestine divisions, and the distractions of civil war, it will afford some relief to take a view of the progress of literature, which flourished even during those calamities.

The commencement of literature in Rome is to be dated from the reduction of the Grecian States, when the conquerors imported into their own country the valuable productions of the Greek language; and the first essay of Roman genius was in dramatic composition. Livius Andronicus, who flourished about 240 years before the Christian æra, formed the Fescennine verses into a kind of regular drama, upon the model of the Greeks. He was followed some time after by Ennius, who, besides dramatic and other compositions, wrote the annals of

of the Roman Republic in heroic verse. His style, like that of Andronicus, was rough and unpolished, in conformity to the language of those times; but for grandeur of sentiment and energy of expression, he was admired by the greatest poets in the subsequent ages. Other writers of distinguished reputation in the dramatic department were Nævius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Afranius, Cæcilius, Terence, Accius, &c. Accius and Pacuvius are mentioned by Quintilian as writers of extraordinary merit. Of twenty-five comedies written

by Plautus, the number transmitted to posterity is nineteen; and of a hundred and eight which Terence is said to have translated from Menander, there now remain only six.

Plautus.

Terence.

Excepting a few inconsiderable fragments, the writings of all the other authors have perished. The early period of Roman literature was distinguished for the introduction of satire by Lucilius, an author celebrated for writing with remarkable ease, but whose compositions, in the opinion of Horace, though Quintilian thinks otherwise, were debased with a mixture of feculency. Whatever may have been their merit, they also have perished, with the works of a number of orators, who adorned the advancing state of letters in the Roman Republic. It is observable, that during this whole period, of near two centuries and a half, there appeared not one historian, of eminence sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion.

Julius Cæsar himself is one of the most eminent writers of the age in which he lived. His Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars are written with a purity, precision, and perspicuity, that command approbation. They are elegant without affectation, and beautiful without ornament.

ornament. Of the two books which he composed on Analogy, and those under the title of Anti-Cato, scarcely any fragment is preserved; but we may be assured of the justness of the observations on language, which were made by an author so much distinguished by the excellence of his own compositions. His poem entitled the Journey, which was probably an entertaining narrative, is likewise totally lost.

The most illustrious prose writer of this or any other age is M. Tullius Cicero; and as his life is copiously recited in biographical works, it will be sufficient to mention his writings. From his earliest years, he applied himself with unremitting assiduity to the cultivation of literature, and, whilst he was yet a boy, wrote a poem, called Glaucus Pontius, which was extant in Plutarch's time. Amongst his juvenile productions was a translation into Latin verse, of Aratus on the Phænomena of the Heavens; of which many fragments are still extant. He also published a poem of the heroic kind, in honor of his countryman C. Marius, who was born at Arpinum, the birth-place of Cicero. This production was greatly admired by Atticus; and old Scævola was so much pleased with it, that in an epigram written on the subject, he declares that it would live as long as the Roman name and learning subsisted. From a little specimen which remains of it, describing a memorable omen given to Marius from an oak of Arpinum, there is reason to believe that his poetical genius was scarcely inferior to his oratorial, had it been cultivated with equal industry. He published another poem called Limon, of which Donatus has preserved four lines in the Life of Terence, in praise of the elegance and purity of that poet's style.

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He composed, in the Greek language, and in the style and manner of Isocrates, a Commentary or Memoirs of the Transactions of his Consulship. This he sent to Atticus, with a desire, if he approved it, to publish it in Athens and the cities of Greece. He sent a copy of it likewise to Posidonius of Rhodes, and requested of him to undertake the same subject in a more elegant and masterly manner. But the latter returned for answer, that, instead of being encouraged to write by the perusal of his tract, he was quite deterred from attempting it.

Upon the plan of those Memoirs, he afterwards composed a Latin poem in three books, in which he carried down the history to the end of his exile, but did not publish it for several years from motives of delicacy. The three books were severally inscribed to three of the Muses; but of this work there now remain only a few fragments, scattered in different parts of his other writings. He published, about the same time, a collection of the principal speeches which he had made in his Consulship, under the title of his Consular Orations. They consisted originally of twelve; but four are entirely lost, and some of the rest are imperfect. He now published also in Latin verse a translation of the Prognostics of Aratus, of which work no more than two or three small fragments now remain. A few years after, he put the last hand to his Dialogues upon the Character and Idea of the perfect Orator. This admirable work remains entire; a monument both of the astonishing industry and transcendent abilities of its author. At his Cuman villa, he next began a Treatise on Politics, or on the best State of a City, and the Duties of a Citizen. He calls it a great and laborious work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in it. This likewise was written in the form of
a dialogue,

a dialogue, in which the speakers were Scipio, Lælius, Philus, Manilius, and other great persons in the former times of the Republic. It was comprised in six books, and survived him for several ages, though now unfortunately lost. From the fragments which remain, it appears to have been a masterly production, in which all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with elegance and accuracy.

Amidst all the anxiety for the interests of the Republic, which occupied the thoughts of this celebrated personage, he yet found leisure to write several philosophical tracts, which still subsist to the gratification of the literary world. He composed a treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, containing a comprehensive view of religion, faith, oaths, ceremonies, &c. In elucidating this important subject, he not only delivers the opinions of all the philosophers who had written any thing concerning it, but weighs and compares attentively all the arguments with each other; forming upon the whole such a rational and perfect system of natural religion, as never before was presented to the consideration of mankind, and approaching nearly to revelation. He now likewise composed, in two books, a discourse on Divination, in which he discusses at large all the arguments that may be advanced for and against the actual existence of such a species of knowledge. Like the preceding works, it is written in the form of dialogue, and called Cato from the principal speaker. The same period gave birth to his treatise on Old Age, called Cato Major; and to that on Friendship, written also in dialogue, and in which the chief speaker is Lælius. This book, considered merely as an essay, is one of the most entertaining productions of ancient times; but, beheld as a picture drawn from life, exhibiting

exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of men of the first distinction for virtue and wisdom in the Roman Republic, it becomes doubly interesting to every reader of observation and taste. Cicero now also wrote his Discourse on Fate; which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Puteoli; and he executed about the same time a translation of Plato's celebrated dialogue, called *Timæus*, on the nature and origin of the universe. He was employing himself also on a history of his own times, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic. Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but from this time he never saw his son; and it is probable that he left the work unfinished. Afterwards, however, some copies of it were circulated; from which his commentator Asconius has quoted several particulars.

During a voyage which he undertook to Sicily, he wrote his treatise on Topics; or the Art of finding Arguments on any Question. This was an abstract from Aristotle's treatise on the same subject; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to assist him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed along the coast of Calabria. The last work composed by Cicero appears to have been his *Offices*, written for the use of his son, to whom it is addressed. This treatise contains a system of moral conduct, founded upon the noblest principles of human action, and recommended by arguments drawn from the purest sources of philosophy.

Such are the literary productions of this extraordinary man, whose comprehensive understanding enabled him to conduct with superior ability the most abstruse disquisitions into moral and metaphysical science. Born in an age posterior to Socrates and Plato, he could not anticipate the principles inculcated by those divine philosophers, but he is justly entitled to the praise, not only of having prosecuted with unerring judgment the steps which they trod before him, but of carrying his researches to greater extent into the most difficult regions of philosophy. This too he had the merit to perform, neither in the station of a private citizen, nor in the leisure of academic retirement, but in the bustle of public life, amidst the almost constant exertions of the bar, the employment of the magistrate, the duties of the Senator, and the incessant cares of the statesman; through a period likewise chequered with domestic afflictions and fatal commotions in the Republic. As a philosopher, his mind appears to have been clear, capacious, penetrating, and insatiable of knowledge. As a writer, he was endowed with every talent that could captivate either the judgment or taste. His researches were continually employed on subjects of the greatest utility to mankind, and those often such as extended beyond the narrow bounds of temporal existence. The being of a God, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the eternal distinction of good and ill; these were in general the great objects of his philosophical enquiries, and he has placed them in a more convincing point of view, than they ever were before exhibited to the pagan world. The variety and force of the arguments which he advances, the splendor of his diction, and the zeal with which he endeavors to excite the love and admiration of virtue; all conspire to place his character, as a philosophical
writer,

writer, including likewise his incomparable eloquence, on the summit of human celebrity.

The form of dialogue, so much used by Cicero, he doubtless adopted in imitation of Plato, who probably took the hint of it from the colloquial method of instruction practised by Socrates. In the early stage of philosophical enquiry, this mode of composition was well adapted, if not to the discovery, at least to the confirmation of moral truth; especially as the practice was then not uncommon, for speculative men to converse together on important subjects, for mutual information. In treating of any subject respecting which the different sects of philosophers differed from each other in point of sentiment, no kind of composition could be more happily suited than dialogue, as it gave alternately full scope to the arguments of the various disputants. It required, however, that the writer should exert his understanding with equal impartiality and acuteness on the different sides of the question; as otherwise he might betray a cause under the appearance of defending it. In all the dialogues of Cicero, he manages the arguments of the several disputants, in a manner not only the most fair and interesting, but also such as leads to the most probable and rational conclusion.

After enumerating the various tracts composed and published by Cicero, we have now to mention his Letters, which, though not written for publication, deserve to be ranked among the most interesting remains of Roman literature. The number of such as are addressed to different correspondents is considerable, but those to Atticus alone, his confidential friend, amount to upwards of four hundred; among which are many of great length. They are all written in the genuine spirit of the most approved

epistolary composition; uniting familiarity with elevation, and ease with elegance. They display in a beautiful light the author's character in the social relations of life; as a warm friend, a zealous patron, a tender husband, an affectionate brother, an indulgent father, and a kind master. Beholding them in a more extensive view, they exhibit an ardent love of liberty and the constitution of his country: they discover a mind strongly actuated with the principles of virtue and reason; and while they abound in sentiments the most judicious and philosophical, they are occasionally blended with the charms of wit, and agreeable effusions of pleasantry. What is likewise no small addition to their merit, they contain much interesting description of private life, with a variety of information relative to public transactions and characters of that age. It appears from Cicero's correspondence, that there was at that time such a number of illustrious Romans, as never before existed in any one period of the Republic. If ever, therefore, the authority of men the most respectable for virtue, rank, and abilities, could have availed to overawe the first attempts at a violation of public liberty, it must have been at this period; for the dignity of the Roman Senate was now in the zenith of its splendor.

Cicero has been accused of excessive vanity, and of arrogating to himself an invidious superiority from his extraordinary talents: but whoever peruses his letters to Atticus, must readily acknowledge, that this imputation appears to be destitute of truth. In those excellent productions, though he adduces the strongest arguments for and against any object of consideration, that the most penetrating understanding can suggest, weighs them with each other, and draws from them the most rational conclusions, he yet discovers such a diffidence in his own opinion,

nion, that he resigns himself implicitly to the judgment and direction of his friend; a modesty not very compatible with the disposition of the arrogant, who are commonly tenacious of their own opinion, particularly in what relates to any decision of the understanding.

It is difficult to say, whether Cicero appears in his letters more great or amiable: but that he was regarded by his contemporaries in both these lights, and that too in the highest degree, is sufficiently evident. We may thence infer, that the great poets in the subsequent age must have done violence to their own liberality and discernment, when, in compliment to Augustus, whose sensibility would have been wounded by the praises of Cicero, and even by the mention of his name, they have so industriously avoided the subject, as not to afford the most distant intimation that this immortal orator and philosopher had ever existed. Livy, however, there is reason to think, did some justice to his memory: but it was not until the race of the Cæsars had become extinct, that he received the free and unanimous applause of impartial posterity. Such was the admiration which Quintilian entertained of his writings, that he considered the circumstance of being delighted with them, as an indubitable proof of judgment and taste in literature. *Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.*

In this period is likewise to be placed M. Terentius Varro, the celebrated Roman grammarian, and the Nestor of ancient learning. The first mention made of him is that he was lieutenant to Pompey in his piratical wars, and obtained in that service a naval crown. In the civil wars he joined the side of the Republic, and was taken by

*M. Terentius
Varro.*

Cæſar; by whom he was likewise proſcribed, but obtained a remiſſion of the ſentence. Of all the ancients, he has acquired the greateſt fame for his extenſive erudition; and we may add, that he diſplayed the ſame induſtry in communicating, as he had done in collecting it. His works originally amounted to no leſs than five hundred volumes, which have all periſhed, except a treatiſe *De Lingua Latina*, and one *De Re Ruſtica*. Of the former of theſe, which is addreſſed to Cicero, three books at the beginning are alſo loſt. It appears from the introduction of the fourth book, that they all related to etymology. The firſt contained ſuch obſervations as might be made againſt it; the ſecond, ſuch as might be made in its favor; and the third, obſervations upon it. He next proceeds to inveſtigate the origin of Latin words. In the fourth book, he traces thoſe which relate to place; in the fifth, thoſe connected with the idea of time; and in the ſixth, the origin of both theſe claſſes, as they appear in the writings of the poets. The ſeventh book is employed on declenſion; in which the author enters upon a minute and extenſive enquiry, comprehending a variety of acute and profound obſervations on the formation of Latin nouns, and their reſpective natural declinations from the nominative caſe. In the eighth, he examines the nature and limits of uſage and analogy in language; and in the ninth and laſt book on the ſubject, takes a general view of what is the reverſe of analogy, viz. anomaly. The preciſion and perſpicuity which Varro diſplays in this work merit the higheſt encomiums, and juſtify the character given him in his own time, of being the moſt learned of the Latin grammarians. To the loſs of the firſt three books, are to be added ſeveral chaſms in the others; but fortunately they happen in ſuch places as not to affect the coherency of the author's doctrine,

doctrine, though they interrupt the illustration of it. It is observable that this great grammarian makes use of *quom* for *quum*, *heis* for *his*, and generally *queis* for *quibus*. This practice having become rather obsolete at the time in which he wrote, we must impute his continuance of it to his opinion of its propriety, upon established principles of grammar, and not to any prejudice of education, or an affectation of singularity. As Varro makes no mention of Cæsar's treatise on Analogy, and had commenced author long before him, it is probable that Cæsar's production was of a much later date; and thence we may infer, that those two writers differed from each other, at least with respect to some particulars on that subject.

This author's treatise *De Re Rustica* was undertaken at the desire of a friend, who, having purchased some lands, requested of Varro the favor of his instructions relative to farming, and the economy of a country-life, in its various departments. Though Varro was at this time in his eightieth year, he writes with all the vivacity, though without the levity of youth, and sets out with invoking, not the Muses, like Homer and Ennius, as he observes, but the twelve deities supposed to be chiefly concerned in the operations of agriculture. It appears from the account which he gives, that upwards of fifty Greek authors had treated of this subject in prose, besides Hesiod and Menecrates the Ephesian, who both wrote in verse; exclusive likewise of many Roman writers, and of Mago the Carthaginian, who wrote in the Punic language. Varro's work is divided into three books, the first of which treats of agriculture; the second, of rearing of cattle; and the third, of feeding animals for the use of the table. In the last of these, we meet with a remarkable instance of the prevalence of habit and fashion over hu-

man sentiment, where the author delivers instructions relative to the best method of fattening rats.

We find from Quintilian, that Varro likewise composed satires in various kinds of verse. It is impossible to behold the numerous fragments of this venerable author without feeling the strongest regret for the loss of that vast collection of information which he had compiled, and of judicious observations which he had made on a variety of subjects, during a life of eighty-eight years, almost entirely devoted to literature. The remark of St. Augustin is well founded, That it is astonishing how Varro, who read such a number of books, could find time to compose so many volumes; and how he who composed so many volumes, could be at leisure to peruse such a variety of books, and to gain so much literary information.

Catullus is said to have been born at Verona, of respectable parents; his father and himself being in the habit of intimacy with Julius Cæsar. He was brought to Rome by Mallius, to whom several of his epigrams are addressed. The gentleness of his manners, and his application to study, we are told, recommended him to general esteem; and he had the good fortune to obtain the patronage of Cicero. When he came to be known as a poet, all these circumstances would naturally contribute to increase his reputation for ingenuity; and accordingly we find his genius applauded by several of his contemporaries. It appears that his works are not transmitted entire to posterity; but there remain sufficient specimens by which we may be enabled to appreciate his poetical talents.

Quintilian,

Quintilian, and Diomed the grammarian, have ranked Catullus amongst the iambic writers, while others have placed him amongst the lyric. He has properly a claim to each of these stations; but his versification being chiefly iambic, the former of the arrangements seems to be the most suitable. The principal merit of Catullus's Iambics consists in a simplicity of thought and expression. The thoughts, however, are often frivolous, and what is yet more reprehensible, the author gives way to gross obscenity: in vindication of which he produces the following couplet, declaring that a good poet ought to be chaste in his own person, but that his verses need not be so.

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsum: versiculos nihil necesse est.

This sentiment has been frequently cited by those who were inclined to follow the example of Catullus; but if such a practice be in any case admissible, it is only where the poet personates a profligate character; and the instances in which it is adopted by Catullus are not of that description. It had perhaps been a better apology, to have pleaded the manners of the times; for even Horace, who wrote only a few years after, has suffered his compositions to be occasionally debased by the same kind of blemish.

Much has been said of this poet's invective against Cæsar, which produced no other effect than an invitation to sup at the Dictator's house. It was indeed scarcely entitled to the honor of the smallest resentment. If any could be shewn, it must have been for the freedom used by the author, and not for any novelty in his lampoon. There are two poems on this subject, viz. the 29th, and

57th, in each of which Cæsar is joined with Mamurra, a Roman knight, who had acquired great riches in the Gallic war. For the honor of Catullus's gratitude, we should suppose that the latter is the one to which historians allude: but, as poetical compositions, they are equally unworthy of regard. The 57th is nothing more than a broad repetition of the raillery, whether well or ill founded, with which Cæsar was attacked on various occasions, and even in the Senate, after his return from Bithynia. Cæsar had been taunted with this subject for upwards of thirty years; and after so long a familiarity with reproach, his sensibility to the scandalous imputation must now have been much diminished, if not entirely extinguished. The other poem is partly in the same strain, but extended to greater length, by a mixture of the common jocular ribaldry of the Roman soldiers, expressed nearly in the same terms which Cæsar's legions, though strongly attached to his person, scrupled not to sport publicly in the streets of Rome, against their general, during the celebration of his triumph. In a word, it deserves to be regarded as an effusion of Saturnalian licentiousness, rather than of poetry. With respect to the Iambics of Catullus, we may observe in general, that the sarcasm is indebted for its force, not so much to ingenuity of sentiment, as to the indelicate nature of the subject, or coarseness of expression.

The descriptive poems of Catullus are superior to the others, and discover a lively imagination. Amongst the best of his productions, is a translation of the celebrated ode of Sappho:

Ille mi par esse Deo videtur,
Ille, &c.

This

This ode is executed both with spirit and elegance: it is however imperfect; and the last stanza seems to be spurious. Catullus's epigrams are entitled to little praise, with regard either to sentiment or point; and on the whole, his merit, as a poet, appears to have been magnified beyond its real extent. He is said to have died about the thirtieth year of his age.

Lucretius is the author of a celebrated poem, in six books, *De Rerum Natura*; a subject which had been treated many ages before by Empedocles, a philosopher and poet of Agrigentum. *Titus Lucretius Carus.*

Lucretius was a zealous partizan of Democritus, and the sect of Epicurus, whose principles concerning the eternity of matter, the materiality of the soul, and the non-existence of a future state of rewards and punishments, he affects to maintain with a certainty equal to that of mathematical demonstration. Strongly prepossessed with the hypothetical doctrines of his master, and ignorant of the physical system of the universe, he endeavors to deduce from the phænomena of the material world conclusions not only unsupported by legitimate theory, but repugnant to principles of the highest authority in metaphysical disquisition. But while we condemn his speculative notions as degrading to human nature, and subversive of the most important interests of mankind, we must admit that he has prosecuted his visionary hypothesis with uncommon ingenuity. Abstracting from the rhapsodical nature of this production, and its obscurity in some parts, it has great merit as a poem. The style is elevated, and the versification in general harmonious. By the mixture of obsolete words, it possesses an air of solemnity well adapted to abstruse researches; at the same time that by the frequent resolution of diphthongs, it in-

fills

stills into the Latin the sonorous and melodious powers of the Greek language.

While Lucretius was engaged in this work, he fell into a state of insanity, occasioned, as is supposed, by a philtre, or love-potion, given him by his wife Lucilia. The complaint however having lucid intervāls, he employed them in the execution of his plan, and, soon after it was finished, laid violent hands upon himself, in the forty-third year of his age. This fatal termination of his life, which perhaps proceeded from insanity, was ascribed by his friends and admirers to his concern for the banishment of one Memmius, with whom he was intimately connected, and for the distracted state of the Republic. It was however a catastrophe which the principles of Epicurus, equally erroneous and irreconcilable to resignation and fortitude, authorized in particular circumstances. Even Atticus, the celebrated correspondent of Cicero, a few years after this period, had recourse to the same desperate expedient, by refusing all sustenance, while he labored under a lingering disease.

It is said that Cicero revised the poem of Lucretius after the death of the author, and this circumstance is urged by the abettors of atheism, as a proof that the principles contained in the work had the sanction of his authority. But no inference in favor of Lucretius's doctrine can justly be drawn from this circumstance. Cicero, though already sufficiently acquainted with the principles of the Epicurean sect, might not be averse to the reading of a production, which collected and enforced them in a nervous strain of poetry; especially as the work was likely to prove interesting to his friend Atticus, and would perhaps afford subject for some letters or
conver-

conversation between them. It can have been only with respect to composition that the poem was submitted to Cicero's revival : for had he been to have exercised his judgment upon the principles of it, he must undoubtedly have so much mutilated the work, as to destroy the coherency of the system. He might be gratified with the shew of elaborate research, and confident declamation, which it exhibited, but he must have utterly disapproved of the conclusions which the author endeavored to establish. According to the best information, Lucretius died in the year from the building of Rome 701, when Pompey was the third time Consul. Cicero lived several years beyond this period, and in the two last years of his life, he composed those valuable works which contain sentiments diametrically repugnant to the visionary system of Epicurus. The argument, therefore, drawn from Cicero's revival, so far from confirming the principles of Lucretius, affords the strongest tacit declaration against their validity ; because a period sufficient for mature consideration, had elapsed before Cicero published his own admirable system of philosophy. The poem of Lucretius, nevertheless, has been regarded as the bulwark of atheism—of atheism, which, while it impiously arrogates the support of reason, both reason and nature disclaim.

Many more writers flourished in this period, but their works have totally perished. Sallust was now engaged in historical productions; but as they were not yet completed, they will be noticed in the next division of the review.

D. OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

I. THAT the family of the Octavii was of the first distinction in Velitræ, is rendered evident by many circumstances. For in the most frequented part of the town, there was, not long since, a street named Octavius; and an altar was to be seen, consecrated to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbouring people, the enemy making a sudden attack, while he was sacrificing to the God Mars, he immediately snatched the entrails of the victim from off the fire, and offered them half raw upon the altar; after which, marching out to battle, he returned victorious. This incident gave rise to a law, by which it was enacted, that in all future times the entrails should be offered to Mars in the same manner, and the rest of the sacrifice be carried to the Octavii.

II. This, amongst several other Roman families, was taken into the Senate by Tarquinius Priscus, and soon after advanced by Servius Tullius into the body of Patricians; but in process of time returned to the commons, and was again raised by Julius Cæsar to the Patrician dignity. The first person of the family advanced by the suffrages of the people to any post in the government, was C. Rufus. He obtained the Quæstorship, and had two sons, Cneius and Caius; from whom are descended the two branches of that family, very different in their circumstances. For Cneius and his descendents in an un-
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interrupted succession held all the great offices of state ; whilst Caius and his posterity, whether from fortune or choice, remained in the Equestrian order until the father of Augustus. The great grandfather of Augustus served in the capacity of a Tribune in the second Punic war in Sicily, under the command of Æmilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the public offices of his borough, and grew old in the quiet enjoyment of a plentiful estate. Such is the account given by different authors. Augustus himself, however, says no more than that he was descended of an Equestrian family, both ancient and rich, and in which his father was the first that obtained the rank of a Senator. Mark Antony upbraidingly tells him that his great grandfather was a freed-man of the territory of Thurii, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a banker. This is all the information I have any where met with, respecting the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side.

III. His father C. Octavius was, from his first setting out in the world, a person both of opulence and distinction : for which reason I am surprised at those who say that he was a banker, and was employed to distribute money amongst the citizens for the candidates at elections, and other similar occasions, in the Field of Mars. For being bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he attained with ease to honorable posts, and discharged the duties of them with approbation. After his Prætorship, he got by lot the province of Macedonia ; in his way to which he cut off some banditti, the relics of the armies of Spartacus and Catiline, who had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurii ; having received from the Senate an extraordinary commission for that purpose. In his government

vernment of the province, he conducted himself with equal justice and resolution: for he defeated the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated the Republic in such a manner, that there are extant some letters from M. Tullius Cicero; in which he advises and exhorts his brother Quintus, who then held the Proconsulship of Asia with no great character, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome.

IV. After quitting Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the Consulship, he died suddenly; leaving behind him one daughter, by Ancharia, and a younger daughter, with Augustus, whom he had by Atia; who was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Julia sister to C. Julius Cæsar. Balbus was originally, by the father's side, of Aricia; of a family many of which had been in the Senate. By the mother's side he was nearly related to Pompey the Great; and after he had borne the office of Prætor, was one of the twenty commissioners appointed by the Julian law to divide the land in Campania amongst the people. But Mark Antony, in contempt of Augustus's descent by the mother's side, says that his great grandfather was an African, who at one time kept a perfumer's shop, and at another a bake-house in Aricia. And Cassius of Parma, in a letter, reproaches him with being the son not only of a baker, but a banker; in these words: "Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal; which a money-changer of Nerulum taking from a late bakehouse of Aricia, kneaded up into some shape, with his hands all discolored by the fingering of money."

V. Augustus was born in the Consulship of M. Tullius

lius Cicero and Antony, upon the ninth of the kalends of October, a little before sun-rise, in the ward of the Palatium, at the sign of the Ox-Heads, where now stands a chapel dedicated to him, and built a little after his death. For, as it is recorded in the transactions of the Senate, when C. Lectorius, a young man of a Patrician family, in deprecating the judgment of the Senators, upon his being convicted of adultery, alledged, besides his youth and quality, that he was the possessor, and as it were the warden of the ground that Augustus first touched upon his coming into the world ; and entreated that he might find favor, for the sake of that God, who was in a peculiar manner his ; an act of the Senate was passed, for the consecration of that part of his house in which Augustus was born.

VI. His nursery is to this day shewn, in a feat belonging to the family near Velitræ ; being a very small place, and much like a pantry. An opinion prevails in the neighbourhood, that he was born there too. Into this place no person presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a belief, for a long time prevalent, that such as rashly enter it are seized with great horror and consternation, which a short while since was confirmed by a remarkable incident. For when a person, upon his first coming to live in the house, had, either by mere chance, or to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that apartment, he was a few hours after thrown out by a sudden violence, he knew not how, and was found in a state of stupefaction, with his bed, before the door of the chamber.

VII. While he was yet an infant, the surname of Thurinus was given him, in memory of the origin of his

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family ; or because, soon after his birth, his father Octavius had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near Thurii. That he was surnamed Thurinus, I can affirm upon good foundation, I myself, whilst a boy, having had a little old brazen image of him, with that name upon it, in iron letters, but almost effaced ; which I presented to the emperor, by whom it is now worshipped amongst his other tutelar deities. He is often likewise, by way of reproach, called Thurinus, by Mark Antony, in his letters ; to which he makes only this reply : “ I am surprised that I should be upbraided with my former name as a scandal.” He afterwards assumed the name of C. Cæsar, and then of Augustus ; the former in compliance with the will of his great-uncle, and the latter upon a motion of Munatius Plancus in the Senate : when some proposing to confer upon him the name of Romulus, being as it were a second founder of the city, it was carried that he should rather be called Augustus, a name not only new ; but of more dignity ; because places devoted to religion, and those in which any thing is consecrated by Augury, are denominated August, either from the word *auctus*, signifying augmentation, or *ab avium gestu, gussu*, from the motion and feeding of birds ; as appears from this line of Ennius :

Augusto augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.

When Rome by august augury was built.

VIII. He lost his father when he was only four years of age ; and, in his twelfth year, pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grand-mother Julia. Four years after, having assumed the manly habit, he was honored with several military presents from Cæsar in his African triumph, though then too young for such service. Upon
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his uncle's going to Spain against the sons of Pompey, though scarcely recovered from a dangerous sickness, he followed him; and after being shipwrecked at sea, and travelling with few attendants, through roads that were beset by the enemy, he at last came up with him. This instance of activity gave great satisfaction to his uncle, who soon conceived an encreasing affection for him, on account of the indications of genius. After the reduction of Spain, while Cæsar was meditating an expedition against the Dacians and Parthians, he was sent before him to Apollonia, where he applied himself to his studies, until receiving intelligence that his uncle was murdered, and himself left his heir, he was for some time in doubt whether he should request the assistance of the legions which were nearest that place; but at last abandoned the design as rash and unseasonable. He returned however to Rome, and entered upon the estate, though his mother was apprehensive that such a measure might be attended with danger, and his step-father, M. Philippus, a man of Consular rank, very earnestly dissuaded him from it. From this time, collecting together a strong military force, he first held the government in conjunction with M. Antony and M. Lepidus, then with Antony alone for almost twelve years, and at last by himself during a period of four and forty.

IX. Having thus exhibited a very short summary of his life, I shall prosecute the several parts of it, not in order of time, but arranging them into distinct classes, for the sake of perspicuity. He was engaged in five civil wars, viz. that of Modena, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium; the first and last of which were against Antony, and the second against Brutus and Cassius: the third against L. Antony, brother to the Triumvir, and the

fourth against Sextus Pompey, the son of Cneius Pompey.

X. The motive which gave rise to all these wars was an opinion, that both his honor and interest were concerned in revenging the murder of his uncle, and maintaining his establishments. Immediately upon his return from Apollonia, he formed the design of making an attack upon Brutus and Cassius by surprise; but they having foreseen and avoided the danger, he resolved to proceed against them by an appeal to the laws, and prosecute them for murder in their absence. In the mean time, those whose province it was to prepare the public diversions, intended for the celebration of Cæsar's success in the civil war, not daring to exert themselves upon the occasion, he took the charge of the whole upon himself. And that he might execute his other purposes with greater vigor, he declared himself a candidate in the room of a Tribune of the commons who died at that time, though he was of a Patrician family, and had not yet been in the Senate. But the Consul M. Antony, from whom he had expected the greatest assistance, opposing him in his suit, and even refusing to do him so much as common justice, unless gratified with a large bribe, he went over to the party of the nobility, to whom he perceived him to be odious, chiefly for endeavoring to drive D. Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, which had been given him by Cæsar, and confirmed to him by the Senate. At the instigation of persons about him, he engaged some ruffians to murder his antagonist. But the plot being discovered, and dreading a similar attempt upon himself, he, by distributing money among Cæsar's veteran soldiers, persuaded them to take the part of him and the Senate, against Antony. Being now commissioned by
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the Senate to command the army which he had collected, in the quality of a Prætor, and to carry assistance, in conjunction with Hirtius and Panfa, who had accepted the Consulship, to Brutus, he put an end to the war in three months, and by two battles. Antony writes, that in the former of these he ran away, without even his general's cloak and horse, and for two days after was not seen. In the latter, however, it is certain that he performed the part not only of a general, but a soldier; and in the heat of the battle, when the standard-bearer of his legion was wounded, took the eagle upon his own shoulders, and carried it a long time.

XI. In this war, Hirtius being slain in battle, and Panfa dying a short time after of a wound, a report was circulated that they both were killed by his means; that, upon the defeat of Antony, the Republic being destitute of Consuls, he might have the victorious armies entirely to himself. The death of Panfa was so much suspected to have been caused by undue means, that Glyco his surgeon was under confinement for some time, upon a presumption that he had put poison into his wound. And to this Aquilius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius the other Consul, in the hurry of the battle, with his own hands.

XII. But upon intelligence that Antony, after his defeat, had been received by M. Lepidus, and that the rest of the generals and armies had all declared for the Senate, he, without any hesitation, deserted the cause of the noble party; alledging as an excuse for his conduct, the actions and sayings of several amongst them; as that some said, "he was merely a boy," and others, "that he ought to be promoted to honors, and cut off;" to avoid the making any suitable acknowledgement either to him or the

legions. And the more to testify his regret for his former attachment, he fined the Nursini in a large sum of money, which they were unable to pay, and then expelled them out of the city, for having inscribed upon a monument, erected at the public charge to their countrymen who were slain in the battle at Modena, "That they died for the liberty of Rome."

XIII. Having entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, he finished the war of Philippi in two engagements, though he was at that time infirm and sickly. In the first battle he was driven out of his camp, and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded by Antony. Intoxicated with success, he sent the head of Brutus to be thrown at the pedestal of Cæsar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners not only with cruelty, but abusive language: inso-much that he is said to have answered one of them who requested the favor of burial, "That will be in the power of the birds." Two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or determine it betwixt them by the sword, and looked on to see them both die: for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly slain, the son killed himself likewise upon the spot. On this account, the rest of the prisoners, and amongst them M. Favonius, the imitator of Cato, being brought in his chains, after they had paid their respects in a handsome manner to the commander Antony, reviled Octavius in the foulest language. After this victory, dividing between them the public service, Antony undertook to compose the East, and Cæsar to conduct the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settle them, as was intended, in the lands belonging to several great towns in Italy. But he had the misfortune
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to please neither the soldiers nor the owners of the lands ; one party complaining of the injustice done them, in being violently forced from their possessions, and the other, that they were not rewarded according to their merit.

XIV. At this time he obliged L. Antony, who, presuming upon his own authority as Consul, and his brother's power, was raising a new war, to fly to Perugia, and forced him at last by famine to a surrender ; though not without great hazards to himself, both before the war and during its continuance. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the Equestrian order in the theatre, to see the public diversions, Cæsar ordered him to be removed by an officer who attended him ; and a rumor being thence spread by his enemies, that he had put the man to death by torture, such an uproar was excited amongst the soldiers, that he narrowly escaped with his life. The only thing that saved him, was the appearance of the man safe and sound, no violence having been offered him. And whilst he was sacrificing about the walls of Perugia, he had nearly been made prisoner by a body of gladiators, who sallied out of the town.

XV. After the taking of Perugia, he put many of the prisoners to death, answering all that begged pardon, and endeavored to excuse themselves, with telling them only, " You must die." Some authors write, that three hundred gentlemen of the Equestrian and Senatorian order, selected from the rest, were slaughtered, like victims, before an altar raised to Julius Cæsar, upon the Ides of March. Nay there are some who relate, that he entered upon this war with no other view, than that his secret enemies, and those whom fear more than affection kept quiet, might be detected, by declaring themselves, now when they had an

opportunity, with L. Antony at their head; and that by the defeat of them, and the confiscation of their estates, he might be enabled to discharge his promises to the veteran soldiers,

XVI. He engaged in the war of Sicily at an early period, but, by various intermissions, protracted it during a long time: one while upon account of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, and that in the summer; another while by patching up a peace, to which he was forced by the clamor of the people, on account of a famine occasioned by Pompey's interrupting a supply of provisions from foreign parts. But at last having built a new fleet, and obtained twenty thousand manumised slaves, who were given him for the oar, he formed the Julian harbour at Baiæ, by letting the sea into the Lucrine and Avernian lakes: in which after he had exercised his forces all winter, he defeated Pompey betwixt Mylæ and Naulochus; having, just before the battle, been suddenly seized with so sound a sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal. This, I suppose, gave occasion to Antony to upbraid him afterwards in the following terms: "You were not able to look upon the fleet, when drawn up ready for battle; but lay stupid upon your back, gazing at the heavens, and did not rise, nor come in fight of your men, until the enemies' ships were forced by M. Agrippa to sheer off." Others charge him with a saying and a subsequent action, both indefensible; as that, upon the loss of his fleets by storm, he exclaimed, "I shall obtain the victory in spite of Neptune:" and that at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession, as usual upon that occasion. Indeed he scarcely ever ran more or greater risks in any of his wars than in this. Having transported part
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of his army to Sicily, and being on his return for the rest, he was unexpectedly attacked by Demochares and Apollonphanes, Pompey's admirals, from whom he escaped with great difficulty, and with one ship only. Likewise as he was travelling on foot by Locri to Rhegium, seeing two of Pompey's vessels passing by that coast, and supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and had very near been made prisoner. On this occasion, as he was making his escape by some bye-ways, a slave belonging to Æmilius Paulus, who accompanied him, owing him a grudge for the proscription of his father, and thinking he had now an opportunity to revenge it, attempted to kill him. After the defeat of Pompey, one of his colleagues, M. Lepidus, whom he had sent for out of Africa to his assistance, affecting great superiority, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself, in a threatening manner, the principal management of affairs, he divested him of his army, and, upon his submission, granted him his life, but banished him for ever to Circeii.

XVII. The alliance between him and Antony, which had always been precarious, often interrupted, and by various reconciliations badly cemented, he at last entirely dissolved. And to make it known to the world how far Antony had departed from the usages of his country, he caused a will of his, which had been left at Rome, and in which he had nominated Cleopatra's children, with others, as his heirs, to be opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent him all his relations and friends; among whom were C. Sosius and T. Domitius, at that time Consuls. He likewise excused the Bononians, because they had been in former times under the protection
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of the family of the Antonii, from entering into the association with the rest of Italy in his favor. And not long after he conquered him in a sea-fight near Actium; which was protracted to so late an hour, that, after the victory, he was obliged to ly on board all night. From Actium he went to the isle of Samos to winter; but being alarmed with the accounts of a mutiny amongst the soldiers he had sent to Brundisium after the victory, who insisted upon their being rewarded for their service and discharged, he returned to Italy. In his passage thither, he met with two violent storms, the first between the promontories of Peloponnesus and Ætolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains; in both which a part of his Liburnian ships were sunk, the rigging of his own ship torn away, and the helm broken. He remained at Brundisium only twenty-seven days, until he had settled affairs respecting the demands of the soldiers, and then went by the way of Asia and Syria, for Egypt, where laying siege to Alexandria, whither Antony had fled with Cleopatra, he made himself master of it in a short time. He forced Antony, who used every effort to obtain conditions of peace, to kill himself, and took a view of him after he was dead. Cleopatra he anxiously wished to save for his triumph; and because she was supposed to have been bit by an asp, he ordered the Pfylli * to suck out the poison.

* The Pfylli were a people of Africa, who practised the employment of sucking the poison from wounds inflicted by serpents, with which that country anciently abounded. They pretended to be endowed with an antidote, which rendered their bodies insensible to the virulence of that species of poison; and the ignorance of those times gave credit to the physical immunity which they arrogated. But Celsus, who flourished about fifty years after the period we speak of, has exploded

son. He allowed them the favor of being buried together, and ordered a mausoleum, begun by themselves, to be completed. The elder of his two sons by Fulvia he commanded to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Cæsar, to which, after many supplications for his life, but all in vain, he had fled, and put to the sword. He likewise put to death Cæsario, whom Cleopatra pretended she had by Cæsar, who had fled for his life, but was retaken. The children that were born to Antony by Cleopatra he saved, and maintained in a manner suitable to their rank, as much as if they had been his own relations.

XVIII. About this time he had the curiosity to view the coffin and body of Alexander the Great, which, for that purpose, were taken out of the vault where they were deposited; and after looking at them for some time, he paid his respects to the memory of that prince, by the present of a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body. Being asked if he desired to see that of Ptolemy likewise, he replied, "I desire to see a king, not dead men." He reduced Egypt into the form of a province; and to render it more fertile, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the ditches, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges itself, which during a long series of years were almost quite choaked up with mud. To render his victory at Actium

exploded the vulgar prejudice which prevailed in their favor. He justly observes, that the venom of serpents, like some other kinds of poison, proves noxious only when applied to the naked fibre; and that, provided there is no ulcer in the gums or palate, the poison may be received into the mouth with perfect safety.

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the more famous with posterity, he built the city Nicopolis near that part of the coast, and ordained that games should be celebrated there every five years; enlarging likewise an old temple of Apollo, he dressed up with naval spoils the place upon which he had encamped, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

XIX. He afterwards quashed several tumults and insurrections; as also several conspiracies against his life, which were providentially discovered before they were ripe for execution; but these incidents happened at different times. Such were the conspiracies of young Lepidus, of Varro Muræna, and Fannius Cæpio; then that of Egnatius, afterwards that of Plautius Rufus, and of L. Paulus, his grand-daughter's husband; and besides these, another of L. Audasius, an old crazy man, and who was under a prosecution for forgery; as also of Asinius Epicadus, a Parthynian mongrel, and at last that of Telephus, a lady's nomenclator*: for he was in danger of his life from the plots and conspiracies of some

* As the people of Rome had a vote in the choice of their magistrates, it was usual, before the time of election, for the candidates to endeavor to gain their favor by every popular art. They would therefore go to the houses of the citizens, shake hands with those they met, and address them in a kindly manner. It being of great consequence, upon those occasions, to know the names of persons, they were commonly attended by a nomenclator, who whispered into their ears that information wherever it was wanted. Though this kind of officer was generally an attendant upon men, we meet with instances of their having been likewise employed in the service of ladies; either with the view of serving candidates to whom they were allied, or of gaining the affections of the people.

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of the lowest of the people against him. Audasius and Epicadus had formed the design of bringing to the armies his daughter Julia, and his grand-son Agrippa, from the islands in which they were confined. Telephus, from a wild imagination that the government was destined to him by the fates, proposed to fall both upon Octavius and the Senate. Nay once a soldier's servant belonging to the army in Illyricum, having passed the porters unobserved, was found in the night-time standing before his chamber-door, provided with a hunting-dagger. Whether the person was really disordered in the head, or only counterfeited madness, is uncertain: for he would make no confession by the rack.

XX. He conducted in person only two foreign wars; the Dalmatian, whilst he was yet but a youth, and, after the final defeat of Antony, the Cantabrian. In the former of these wars he received some wounds, as in one battle a contusion in the right knee, from a stone; and in another, he was much hurt in one leg and both arms, by the fall of a bridge. His other wars he carried on by his lieutenants; but now and then visited the army, in some of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or was not at a great distance from it, advancing from the seat of government as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia.

XXI. He conquered, however, partly in person, and partly by his lieutenants, Cantabria, Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatia, with all Illyricum, and Rhætia, besides the two nations of the Vindelici and the Salassii, inhabiting the Alps. He also put a stop to the inroads of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals with vast armies, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elbe;

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of whom he removed the Ubii and Sicambri, upon their submission, into Gaul, and settled them in a country upon the banks of the Rhine. Other nations likewise, that annoyed the borders of his empire, he obliged to acknowledge the Roman power. He never made war upon any nation without a just and irresistible cause ; and was so far from entertaining a desire either to extend the empire, or advance his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of some barbarous people to swear in the temple of Mars the Avenger, that they would faithfully observe their engagements, and not violate the peace which they had solicited. Of some he demanded a new sort of hostages, which was their women, because he found from experience that they did not much regard their male hostages ; but he always left them at liberty to recover their hostages when they pleased. Even those who were the most frequent and perfidious in their rebellion, he never punished with any greater severity, than to sell their prisoners, upon condition that they should not serve in any neighbouring country, nor be released from their slavery before the expiration of thirty years. By the renown, which he thence acquired, of virtue and moderation, he induced the Indians and Scythians likewise, until that time known to the Romans only by report, to solicit his friendship, and that of the Roman people, by ambassadors. The Parthians readily allowed his pretensions to Armenia ; restoring, at his demand, the standards which they had taken from M. Crassus, and M. Antony, and offering him hostages besides. Afterwards, upon the occasion of a contest betwixt several pretenders to the crown of this kingdom, they would admit only the claim of the person to whom he should think proper to award it.

XXII. The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been shut only twice, from the building of the city to his own time, he shut three times, in a much shorter period, having established an universal tranquillity both by sea and land. He twice entered the city in the lesser triumph *, viz. after the war of Philippi, and again after that of Sicily. He had likewise three grand triumphs † for his victories

* The inferior kind of triumph, called Ovatio, was granted in cases where the victory was not of great importance, or had been obtained without difficulty. The general entered the city on foot or on horseback, crowned with myrtle, not with laurel; and instead of bullocks, the sacrifice was performed with a sheep, whence this procession acquired its name.

† The grand triumph, in which the victorious general and his army advanced in solemn procession through the city to the Capitol, was the highest military honor which could be obtained in the Roman state. Foremost in the procession, went musicians of various kinds, singing and playing triumphal songs. Next were led the oxen to be sacrificed, having their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with fillets and garlands. Then in carriages were brought the spoils taken from the enemy, statues, pictures, plate, armour, gold and silver, and brass; with golden crowns, and other gifts, sent by the allied and tributary states. The captive leaders followed in chains, with their children and attendants. After them came the Lictors, having their *fascēs* wreathed with laurel, followed by a great company of musicians and dancers dressed like Satyrs, and wearing crowns of gold: in the midst of whom was a pantomime, clothed in the garb of a female, whose business it was, with his looks and gestures, to insult the vanquished. Next followed a long train of persons carrying perfumes. Then came the victorious general, dressed in purple embroidered with gold,

victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and Alexandria ; each of which lasted three days.

XXIII. In all his wars, he never received any signal or ignominious defeat, except twice in Germany, in the person of his lieutenants Lollius and Varus. The former indeed had in it more of infamy than loss : but that of Varus threatened the security of the empire itself ;

gold, with a crown of laurel on his head, a branch of laurel in his right hand, and in his left an ivory sceptre, with an eagle on the top ; having his face painted with vermillion, in the same manner as the statue of Jupiter on festival days, and a golden *Bulla* hanging on his breast, and containing some amulet, or magical preservative against envy. He stood in a gilded chariot, adorned with ivory, and drawn by four white horses, sometimes by elephants, attended by his relations, and a great crowd of citizens, all in white. His children used to ride in the chariot with him ; and that he might not be too much elated, a slave, carrying a golden crown sparkling with gems, stood behind him, and frequently whispered in his ear, “ Remember that thou art a man ! ” After the general, followed the Consuls and Senators on foot, at least according to the appointment of Augustus ; for they formerly used to go before him. His *Legati* and military Tribunes commonly rode by his side. The victorious army, horse and foot, came last, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the gifts which they had received for their valor ; singing their own and their general’s praises, but sometimes throwing out raileries against him ; and often exclaiming, “ Io Triumphe ! ” in which they were joined by all the citizens, as they passed along. The oxen having been sacrificed, the general gave a magnificent entertainment in the Capitol to his friends and the chief men of the city ; after which he was conducted home by the people, with music and a great number of lamps and torches.

three

three legions, with the general, lieutenant-generals, and all the auxiliary forces, being cut off. Upon receiving advice of this disaster, he gave orders for keeping a strict watch over the city, to prevent any public disturbance, and continued the government of the provinces in the same hands, the better to keep the allies quiet, by the means of persons well acquainted with, and used to them. He made a vow to celebrate the great games in honor of Jupiter, "If he would be pleased to recover the state from its present situation." This expedient had formerly been practised in the Cimbric and Marsic wars. For we are informed that he was under so great consternation, upon this event, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knocked his head against the door, crying out, "Quintilius Varus, give me my legions again." And ever after, he observed the anniversary of this calamity as a day of sorrow and mourning.

XXIV. In military affairs he made many alterations, introducing some practices entirely new, and reviving others, which had become obsolete. He maintained among the troops the strictest discipline; and would not allow even the lieutenant-generals the liberty to visit their wives, but with great reluctance, and in the winter season only. A Roman knight having cut off the thumbs of two young sons of his, to render them incapable of serving in the wars, he exposed both him and his estate to public sale. But upon observing the farmers of the customs very busy about the purchase, he consigned him over to a freedman of his own, that he might send him into the country, and suffer him to enjoy his freedom. The tenth legion becoming mutinous, he broke it with disgrace; and did the same by some others that in a petu-

lant manner demanded their discharge ; with-holding from them the rewards usually bestowed on those who had served their stated time in the wars. Such battalions as had quitted their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley. Captains, as well as common sentinels upon the guard, who deserted their posts, he punished with death. For other misdemeanors he inflicted upon them various kinds of disgrace ; such as obliging them to stand all day before the general's tent, sometimes in their tunics, and without their belts, sometimes with poles ten foot long, or rods in their hands.

XXV. After the conclusion of the civil wars, he never, in any of his military harangues, or proclamations, addressed them by the title of " Fellow-soldiers," but " Soldiers" only. Nor would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his sons or step-sons, when they were in command : judging the former epithet to convey the idea of a degree of condescension not very consistent with military discipline, and what neither the tranquillity of the times, nor the grandeur of himself and family, rendered needful. Unless at Rome, upon account of accidental fires, or under the apprehension of a public disturbance during a scarcity of provisions, he never suffered manumitted slaves to bear arms in his troops, except on two occasions ; one for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and again to guard the banks of the river Rhine. With these he obliged persons of fortune, both male and female, to furnish him ; and though after some time he granted them their freedom, yet he kept them in a body by themselves, unmixed with his other soldiers of better birth, and armed likewise in a different manner. Military presents, such as trappings for horses, chains, or any others of gold or silver, he bestowed

flowed more readily than the crowns which were usually conferred for any signal act of bravery in the siege of camps or towns, which were reckoned more honorable than the former. These crowns he gave sparingly, without partiality, and often even to common soldiers. He presented M. Agrippa, after the naval engagement in the war of Sicily, with a green banner. Persons who had obtained the honor of a triumph, though they attended him in his expeditions, and had a share in his successes, he judged it improper to distinguish by the usual military presents, because themselves had a right to grant them to whom they pleased. He thought nothing more derogatory to the character of an accomplished general than haste and rashness: on which account he had frequently in his mouth,

Σπευδε βραδεως, and

Ασφαλης γαρ εστ' αμεινων, η θρασυς στρατηλατης.

Hasten slowly.—And

The cautious captain's better than the bold.

And “What is done enough, is done well enough.” He was wont likewise to say, that “a battle or a war ought never to be undertaken, unless the hope of advantage overbalanced the fear of loss.” For, said he, “those who pursue small advantages with no small hazard, resemble such as fish with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line should break asunder, could never be compensated by all the fish they might take.”

XXVI. He was advanced to public offices, before he was legally qualified for them in point of age, and to some of a new kind, and for life. He seized the Consulship in the twentieth year of his age, advancing with

his legions in a hostile manner towards the city, and sending deputies to demand it for him in the name of the army. When the Senate demurred upon the subject, a Centurion, named Cornelius, the chief deputy, throwing back his cloak, and shewing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the house, "This will make him Consul, if ye will not." His second Consulship he bore nine years after, his third, upon the intermission of only one year, and held the same office every year successively until the eleventh. From this period, though the Consulship was frequently offered him, he always declined it, till, after a long interval, not less than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after for a thirteenth; that he might, whilst invested with that office, introduce into the Forum, according to custom, his two sons, Caius and Lucius. In his five Consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year; but in the rest, during only nine, six, four, or three months, and in his second no more than a few hours. For having sat for a short time in the morning, upon the first of January, on his ivory chair *, before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he quitted the office, and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all at Rome, but

* The *Sella Curulis* was a stool or chair on which the principal magistrates sat in the tribunal upon solemn occasions. It had no back, but had four crooked feet, fixed to the extremities of cross pieces of wood, joined by a common axis, somewhat in the form of the letter X; was covered with leather, and adorned with ivory. From its construction, it might be occasionally folded together for the convenience of carriage, and set down where the magistrate chose to use it.

upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the Isle of Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarracon.

XXVII. During ten years, he acted as one of the Triumvirate for settling the commonwealth, in which office he for some time opposed his colleagues in their design of a proscription; but after it was begun, he prosecuted it with more determined rigor than either of them. For whilst they were often prevailed upon, by the interest and intercession of friends, to shew mercy, he alone insisted vehemently, that no quarter should be given; and he proscribed likewise C. Toranius his guardian, who had been formerly his father Octavius's colleague in the *Ædileship*. Junius Saturninus adds this farther account of him: that when, after the proscription was over, M. Lepidus made an apology in the Senate for their past proceedings, and gave them hopes of a more mild administration for the future, because they had now had sufficient revenge upon their enemies; he on the other hand declared, that he had set no other bounds to the proscription than his own pleasure, and so was entirely at liberty. Afterwards, however, repenting of his severity, he advanced T. Vinus Philopœmen to the Equestrian rank, for having concealed his patron, and saved him from the fury of the proscription. In this same office, he incurred great odium upon many accounts. For as he was one day haranguing the soldiers, observing Pinarius a Roman knight let in some company, and subscribe something or other, he ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes, as a busy-body and a spy upon him. He so terrified with his menaces Tediæ Afer, Consul-elect, for having reflected upon some action of his, that he threw himself from the top of a house and died. And when Q. Gallius the Prætor came to wait upon him, with a

double tablet under his coat, suspecting it to be a sword, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he ordered him to be carried off by some captains and soldiers, and to be put to torture, as if he had been a slave: and though he would make no confession of any ill design, commanded him to be killed, after he had, with his own hands, plucked out his eyes. His own account of the transaction however is, that this person desired a private conference with him, for the purpose of murdering him: that he therefore put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city, when he perished either in a storm at sea, or by the hands of robbers. He accepted of the Tribunitian power for life, but, for two *lustra** successively, took another person into commission with him. The inspection of the public manners and laws was likewise conferred upon him for life; in virtue of which commission, though he had not the title of Censor, yet he thrice took a survey of the people, the first and third time with an assistant, but the second by himself.

XXVIII. He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the commonwealth; first immediately after the reduction of Antony, remembering what he had often charged him with, that it was owing to him alone that the commonwealth was not restored. The second time was upon oc-

* The *Lustrum* was a period of five years, at the end of which a *Census* or Review was made of the people, first by the Roman kings, then by the Consuls, but after the year 310 from the building of the city, by the Censors, who were magistrates created for that purpose. It appears however, that the *Census* was not always held at stated periods, and sometimes after long intervals.

casion of a long illness, when he sent for the magistrates and the Senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire. But reflecting at the same time, that he could not without hazard return to the condition of a private person, and that it might be of dangerous consequence to the public, to have the government left again to the management of the people, he resolved to keep it in his own hands, whether with the better event or intention, is hard to say. His intention of good to the public, he often affirmed in private discourse, and likewise declared by proclamation in the following terms: "So let me have the happiness to establish the commonwealth secure upon its proper basis, and enjoy the reward of which I am ambitious, that of being celebrated for introducing the best kind of government amongst you: that at my leaving the world, I may carry with me the hope, that the foundations which I shall lay for a future settlement, will remain unmoved for ever."

XXIX. The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was liable to inundations of the Tiber, and to fires, he so much improved, as to boast, not without reason, that he received it a city of brick, but left it one of marble. He likewise rendered it secure for the time to come, as far as could be effected by human foresight. He raised a great many public buildings, the most considerable of which were a Forum, with the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo in the Palatium, and the temple of Thundering Jove in the Capitol. The reason of his building the Forum, was the vast number of people and causes, for which the two former Forums not being sufficient, it was thought necessary to have a third. It was

therefore opened for public use before the temple of Mars was entirely finished; and a law passed, that causes should be tried, and judges chosen by lot, in that place. The temple of Mars he had made a vow to build, in the war of Philippi, which was undertaken by him for the revenge of his father's murder. He ordained that the Senate should always meet there to deliberate about wars and triumphs; that thence should be dispatched all such as were sent into the provinces to command armies; and that in it those who returned victorious from the wars, should lodge the ornaments of their triumphs. He erected the temple of Apollo in that part of the Palatine house which had been struck with thunder, and which, on that account, the soothsayers declared the God to have chosen. He added to it piazzas, with a library of Latin and Greek authors; and when advanced in years, used frequently there to hold the Senate, and examine the lists of the judges. He consecrated the temple to Thundering Jove, upon account of a deliverance he had from a great danger in his Cantabrian expedition; when, as he was travelling in the night, his litter was scorched, and a slave who carried a torch before him, killed by the lightning. He likewise constructed some public buildings in the name of others, as his grandsons, his wife, and sister. Thus he built a piazza and a court, in the name of Lucius and Caius, and piazzas in the name of Livia and Octavia, with a theatre in that of Marcellus. He also recommended to other persons of distinction to beautify the city by new buildings, or repairing the old, each according to their respective abilities. In consequence of this recommendation, many were raised; such as the temple of Hercules president of the Muses, by Mercius Philippus; a temple of Diana by L. Cornificius; the Court of Liberty by Asinius Pollio; a temple
of

of Saturn by Munatius Plancus ; a theatre by Cornelius Balbus ; an amphitheatre by Statilius Taurus ; and several other noble edifices by M. Agrippa.

XXX. He divided the city into wards, and other inferior departments ; ordaining that the annual magistrates should by lot take the charge of the former ; and that the latter should be governed by masters chosen out of the neighbouring commonalty. He appointed a nightly watch to be kept against accidents from fire ; and, to prevent the frequent inundations of the Tiber, widened and cleansed its channel, which had in length of time been almost dammed up with rubbish, and much reduced by the falling in of houses. To render the avenues to the city more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of improving the Flaminian causeway as far as Ariminum ; and distributed the repairs of the other roads, to be defrayed out of the money arising from the spoils of war, amongst several persons who had obtained the honor of a triumph. Temples decayed by time, or destroyed by fire, he either repaired or rebuilt ; and enriched them, as well as many others, with noble donations. He, upon one occasion, deposited in the sacred apartment of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with jewels and pearls, to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces.

XXXI. The office of High-priest, of which he could not decently deprive Lepidus, he assumed upon his death. He then issued an order for all the books of prophecy, both Latin and Greek, the authors of which were either unknown, or of no great authority, to be brought in ; and the whole collection, amounting to upwards of two thousand, he committed to the flames ; saving only such

as

as had been left by the Sibyls ; but not even those without a strict examination, to ascertain what was genuine. This being done, he deposited them upon two gilt shelves, under the base of the statue of Apollo Palatinus. He reduced the Calendar, which had been corrected by Julius Cæsar, but through carelessness was again fallen into confusion, to its former regularity ; and upon that occasion, called the month Sextilis (August) by his own name, rather than September, in which he was born ; because in it he had obtained his first Consulship, and all his most considerable victories. He encreased the number, dignity, and revenue of the priests, but especially of the Vestal Virgins. And when upon the death of one of them, a new one was to be chosen, and many persons solicited that they might not be obliged to give in their daughters' names, for the purpose of election, he answered them with an oath : -“ If any of my granddaughters was old enough for it, I would have offered her to fill up the vacancy.” He likewise revived some old religious customs, which had become obsolete ; as the Augury of Health, the office of Flamen Dialis, or the peculiar priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, the Secular, and Compitalitian games. He prohibited young boys from running in the Lupercalia : and in respect of the Secular games, he issued an order, that young persons, of either sex, should not appear at any public diversions in the night, unless in the company of some elderly person of their relations. He ordered the household Gods to be decked twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalitian festival. Next to the immortal Gods, he paid the highest honor to the memory of those generals, who, from the original poor condition of the Roman state, had raised it to the pinnacle of grandeur. He accordingly repaired or rebuilt the

the public edifices erected by them ; preserving the former inscriptions, and placing statues of them all, in a triumphal dress, in both the piazzas of his Forum ; and declaring in the terms of the following proclamation : “ My design in so doing is, that the Roman people may require from me, and all succeeding princes, a conformity to those illustrious examples.” He likewise removed the statue of Pompey from the Senate-house, in which C. Cæsar had been killed, and placed it under a marble arch, fronting the magnificent house adjoining to his theatre.

XXXII. He suppressed many practices injurious to the morals of the public, which had arisen either from licentiousness during the late civil wars, or the corruption produced by the long peace which ensued. Great numbers of highwaymen appeared openly, armed with swords, under color of self-defence ; and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were carried off by violence, and kept concealed in work-houses. Several parties of men, under the specious title of new companies, caballed together for the perpetration of all kinds of villainy. These banditti he quelled, by guards of soldiers posted in different places for the purpose ; took a strict account of the work-houses, and dissolved all companies, those only excepted which were of ancient standing, and established by law. He burned all the notes of those who had been a long time in arrear with the treasury, as the principal source of vexatious suits and prosecutions. Places in the city that were claimed by the public, where the property was doubtful, he adjudged to the possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals, the names of such as had remained long under the terror of a prosecution,

where

where nothing further was proposed by the informers, than to gratify their own ill nature, by seeing the wretched appearance which they made upon the occasion. At the same time, he laid it down as a rule, that those who persisted in maintaining a prosecution, should, if they failed in their object, be liable to the same punishment which the laws inflicted upon such as were convicted of the charge. And that crimes might not escape punishment, nor business be neglected by delay, he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days that were spent in celebrating the games, which the magistrates usually presented to the people, in gratitude for their advancement. To the three classes then existing of judges, he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferior rank, who were called *Ducenarii*, and decided all litigations about trifling sums. He chose judges from the age of thirty years, which is five years sooner than had been usual before. And a great many declining the office, he was with much difficulty prevailed upon, to allow each class of judges a twelve-month's vacation in its turn; and that the courts might be exempted from attendance during the months of November and December.

XXXIII. He was himself assiduous in his application to the trial of causes, and would sometimes protract his sitting to a late hour, if he was indisposed, upon a couch placed upon the bench, or lying in bed at home; displaying on all those occasions not only the greatest attention, but mildness. To save a culprit, who evidently appeared guilty of murdering his father, from being stiched up in a sack, because none were punished in that manner but such as confessed the fact, he is said to have interrogated him thus: "Surely you did not kill your father, did you?" And when, in the trial of a cause about a
forged

forged will, all those who had signed it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law, he ordered that all those who sat with him upon the trial should not only be furnished with the two usual tablets for condemnation or acquittal, but a third likewise, for the pardon of such as should appear to have subscribed their names through any deception or mistake. All appeals in causes betwixt inhabitants of the city, he assigned every year to the Prætor; and where the provincials were concerned, to men of Consular rank, who had each his province for that purpose.

XXXIV. Some laws he amended, and some, originally framed by himself, he introduced into the code; such as the sumptuary law, that relating to adultery and the violation of chastity, the law against bribery in elections, and likewise that for the encouragement of marriage. Having been more severe in his reform of this law than the rest, he found the people utterly averse to adopt it, without taking off or mitigating the penalties; besides allowing a respite of three years after the death of a wife, and encreasing the advantages of a married state. Notwithstanding all these modifications of this obnoxious statute, the Equestrian Order, at a public entertainment in the theatre, were importunate for the repeal of it; insomuch that he sent for the children of Germanicus, and shewed them partly sitting upon his own lap, and partly on their father's; intimating by his looks and gestures a request, that they would not be displeased to imitate the example of that young man. But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by the marrying of girls much under the age proper for matrimony, and the frequent change of wives, he limited the time for consummation after the marriage contract,

contract, and restrained the great licence which had been admitted in the practice of divorce.

XXXV. He reduced, by two distinct nominations, to their former number and splendor, the Senate, which had been filled up and over-charged with a rabble of people, degrading to the dignity of that house (for they were now above a thousand, and some of them very mean persons, that after the death of Cæsar had been chosen by the dint of interest and bribery, and were commonly called by the people *Orcini*). The former of these elections was left to their own determination; each man as he was named naming another. But the latter was managed exclusively by himself and Agrippa: at which time, it is believed, he presided at the election, with a coat of mail, and a sword under his garment, and with ten of the most able-bodied Senators his friends attending about him. Cordus Cremutius relates, that no Senator was suffered to approach him but alone, and after having been searched whether he carried about him any sword. Some he obliged to the reluctant modesty of excusing themselves from the acceptance of that honor; and to such he allowed the privilege of using the Senatorian tunic, of sitting at public diversions in the seats assigned to that Order, and of feasting publicly amongst them. That such as were chosen and approved of might discharge their duty the more religiously, and with less trouble, he ordered that every member, before he took his seat in the house, should pay his devotions, with an offering of frankincense and wine, at the altar of that God, in whose temple the Senate should assemble, and that their stated meetings should be only twice in the month, viz. upon the Calends and Ides; and that in the
months

months of September and October, a certain number only, chosen by lot, such as the law required to give a resolution of the house the force of a decree, should be obliged to give their attendance. He resolved upon the choice of a new privy-council every six months, to consult with them previously upon such affairs as he judged proper at any time to lay before the house. He likewise asked the opinion of the Senators upon a subject of importance, not according to custom, nor in order, but as he pleased; that every one might give the same attention to the business before them, as if he was to deliver his sentiments at large upon it, to influence the rest, rather than assent to what had been advanced by others.

XXXVI. He likewise introduced several other alterations in the management of public affairs; as that the acts of the Senate should not be published, nor the magistrates sent into the provinces immediately after the expiration of their office: that the Proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mules and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons: that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the City-Quæstors to the Prætors, or those who had already served in the latter office: and that ten commissioners should call together the Centumviral court, which had formerly been used to assemble at the summons of persons who had borne the office of Quæstors.

XXXVIII. That a greater number of persons might be employed in the administration of the State, he devised several new offices; as for the superintendency of the public buildings, roads, waters, the channel of the Tiber; for the distribution of corn to the people; the Præfecture
of

of the city ; a Triumvirate for the election of the Senators ; and another for taking an account of the several troops of the Equestrian Order, as often as their duty in war rendered such an inspection necessary. He revived the office of Censors*, which had been a long time disused, and encreased the number of Prætors. He likewise desired, that as often as the Consulship was conferred upon him, he should have two colleagues instead of one ; but in respect of this point, they did not comply with his request ; all unanimously crying out upon the occasion, that he stooped below his grandeur sufficiently, in holding the office not alone, but in conjunction with another.

XXXVIII. He was no less attentive to the reward of military merit, upon all occasions. He granted to above thirty generals the honor of the great triumph ; and took care to have triumphal ornaments voted by the Senate for more than that number. That the sons of Senators might become sooner acquainted with affairs of state, he permitted them, at the time when they took upon them the manly habit †, to assume the Senatorian tunic likewise,

* In the year 312, from the building of the city, two magistrates were created, under the name of Censors, whose office, at first, was to take an account of the number of the people, and the value of their fortunes. A power was afterwards granted them to inspect the morals of the people ; and from this period the office became of great importance in the state. After Sylla, the election of Censors was intermitted for about seventeen years. Under the emperors the office of Censor was abolished ; but the chief parts of it were exercised by the emperors themselves, and frequently both with great caprice and severity.

† Young men until they were seventeen years of age, and
young

wife, and to be present at the debates of the house. When they entered the service of their country in the wars, he invested them not only with the commission of Tribune, but likewise the command of the auxiliary horse of a legion. And that none might want an opportunity of acquiring sufficient experience in military affairs, he commonly joined two sons of Senators in commission for the latter appointment. He frequently reviewed the troops of horse belonging to the State, reviving the ancient custom of *Transvection* *, which had been long laid aside. But he

young women until they were married, wore a gown bordered with purple, called *Toga Prætexta*. The former, when they had completed this period, laid aside the dress of minority, and assumed the *Toga Virilis*, or Manly Habit. The ceremony of changing the *Toga* was performed with great solemnity before the images of the *Lares*, to whom the *Bulla* was consecrated. On this occasion, they went either to the Capitol, or to some temple, to pay their devotions to the Gods.

* The *Transvectio* was a procession of the Equestrian Order, which they made with great splendor through the city, every year, on the fifteenth day of July. They rode on horseback from the Temple of Honor, or of Mars, without the city, to the Capitol, with wreaths of olive on their heads, dressed in robes of scarlet, and bearing in their hands the military ornaments which they had received from their general, as a reward of their valor. The Knights rode up to the Censor, seated on his curule chair in the front of the Capitol, and dismounting led along their horses in their hands before him. If any of the knights was corrupt in his morals, had diminished his fortune below the legal standard, or even had not taken proper care of his horse, the Censor ordered him to sell his horse, by which he was considered as degraded from the Equestrian Order.

did not suffer any one to be obliged by his accuser to dismount, whilst he passed in review, as had formerly been the practice. And for such as were infirm with age, or any way deformed, he allowed them to send their horses before them, and when called upon, only to answer to their names; permitting, soon after, those who had attained the age of thirty-five years, and desired not to keep their horse any longer, to have the privilege of resigning him.

XXXIX. Having obtained ten assistants from the Senate, he obliged every one of the horsemen to give an account of his life: in regard to those of whom he disapproved, upon some he set a mark of infamy, and others he punished in different ways. The most part he only reprimanded, but not in the same terms. The most gentle mode of reproof was by delivering them wax tablets†, which they were obliged to read to themselves upon the spot. Some he disgraced for borrowing money at low interest, and letting it out again upon usurious profit.

XL. In the election of Tribunes, if there was not a sufficient number of Senatorian candidates, he nominated others from the Equestrian rank; granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in whichever of the two Orders they pleased. Because most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the late civil wars, and therefore durst not sit to see the public diversions in the theatre, in the seats al-

† Pugillares, or Pugillaria, were a kind of pocket-book, used for the purpose of taking down memorandums. They appear to have been of very ancient origin; for we read of them in the Iliad under the name of ΠΙΛΛΑΡΕΣ.

lotted to their Order, for fear of the punishment provided by the law in that case; he publicly declared, that none were liable to the penalty of that law, who had, either themselves, or their parents, ever had a knight's estate. He took the survey of the Roman people street by street: and that the commonalty might not be too often taken from their business, to attend the distribution of corn, he intended to deliver out tickets for four months, that they might receive a greater quantity at once; but at their request, he continued the former regulation. He revived the ancient usage in elections, and endeavored, by various penalties, to suppress the practice of bribery. Upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sesterces each, that they might entertain no expectations from any of the candidates. Extremely desirous of preserving the Roman people pure; and untainted with a mixture of foreign or servile blood, he not only bestowed the freedom of the city with a sparing hand, but laid some restriction upon the practice of manumising slaves. When Tiberius interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in behalf of a Greek client of his, he wrote to him for answer, "I shall not grant it, unless he come himself, and give me a satisfactory reason why he makes that request." He gave a denial likewise to Livia, upon her desiring the same privilege for a tributary Gaul, but offered him an immunity from taxes; adding a declaration in these words: "I shall sooner suffer the revenue of my exchequer to be diminished, than the honor of the freedom of Rome to be rendered too common." Not content with debarring slaves from the benefit of complete emancipation, by various legal difficulties, relative to the number, condition, and distinction of such as should be manumised, he likewise

enacted that none who had been bound in chains, or put to the rack, should in any degree obtain the freedom of the city. He endeavored also to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans; and upon seeing once an assembly of the people in black togas he exclaimed with indignation, "See there!

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

Rome's sons whose laws the subject world repress:
Of whom the toga is the civic dress.

He gave order to the *Ædiles* not to permit, in future, any Roman to stand in the Forum or Circus with cloaks on.

XLI. He displayed his generosity to all ranks of people upon various occasions. For upon bringing the treasure belonging to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money so plentiful, that interest fell, and the price of land rose considerably. And afterwards, as often as large sums of money came into his possession by means of confiscations, he would lend it gratis to such as could give security for the double of what was borrowed. The estate necessary to qualify a person for being elected into the Senate, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces, the former standard, he ordered, for the future, to be twelve hundred thousand; and to those in the house who had not so much, he made good the deficiency. He often made donations to the people, but generally of different sums; sometimes four hundred, sometimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty sesterces: upon which occasions, he extended his bounty even to little boys; who before were not used to receive any thing, until they arrived at eleven years of age. In a scarcity of corn, he would frequently let them have it at

a very low price, or none at all ; and doubled the number of the money-tickets.

XLII. But to shew that he was a prince who regarded more the good of his people than their favor, he reprimanded them, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearness of wine, very severely, in the following terms : “ My son-in-law, Agrippa, has sufficiently provided for the quenching of your thirst, by the great plenty of water with which he has supplied the town.” Upon their demanding a gift which he had promised them, he said, “ I am a man of my word.” But upon their importuning him for one which he had not promised, he issued a proclamation upbraiding them with their scandalous impudence ; at the same time telling them, “ I should give you nothing, though I had before intended it.” With the like firmness of authority, when, upon a promise he had made them of a donative, he found many slaves had been manumitted, and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared that none should receive any thing to whom the promise had not been made, and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, that the sum he designed them might hold out. Once, in a season of scarcity, and when it was extremely difficult to supply the public exigence, he ordered out of the city all the companies of slaves brought thither for sale, the gladiators belonging to the masters of defence, and all foreigners, excepting physicians, and the teachers of the liberal sciences. A part of the slaves in every family were likewise ordered to be dismissed. When, at last, plenty was restored, he writes thus : “ I was much inclined to abolish for ever the practice of allowing the people corn at the public expence, because they trust so much to it, that they really neglect their tillage ; but I did not persevere in such a design ; because I was pretty cer-

tain that the practice would some time or other be revived to gratify the people." He so managed that affair ever after, that he was no less attentive to the interests of the husbandmen and traders abroad, than to those of the citizens.

XLIII. In the number, variety, and magnificence of his public diversions, he surpassed all former example. Four and twenty times, he says, he presented the people with games upon his own account; and three and twenty times for such magistrates as were either absent, or not able to afford the expence: and this he did sometimes in the streets of the city, and upon several stages, by players in all languages. The same he did not only in the Forum, and Amphitheatre, but in the Circus likewise, and in the *Septa* *; and sometimes he presented only a hunting of wild beasts. He entertained the people with wrestlers in the Field of Mars, where wooden seats were erected for the purpose; as also with a naval fight; for accommodation to which he lowered the ground about the Tiber, where now lies the grove of the Cæsars. During these two entertainments he placed guards in the city, lest robbers, by reason of the small number of people that was left in it, might seize the opportunity of committing depredations. In the Circus he brought into action charioteers, foot-racers, and killers of wild beasts, and those often youths of the first quality. He frequently exhibited the Trojan game, with a select number of boys different in stature; thinking it both graceful in itself, and conformable to the practice of the ancients, that the genius of the young nobility should be

* *Septa* were inclosures made with boards, commonly for the purpose of distributing the people into distinct classes, and erected occasionally.

displayed in such exercises. C. Nonius Asprenas, who was lamed in this diversion, he presented with a golden chain, and allowed him and his posterity to bear the surname of Torquatus. But soon after, he ceased to encourage such sports, upon occasion of a severe speech made in the Senate by Asinius Pollio the orator, in which he complained bitterly of the misfortune of Æterninus his grandson, who likewise broke his leg in the same diversion. He sometimes made use of Roman knights to act upon the stage, or to fight as gladiators : but only before the practice was prohibited by a decree of the Senate. After that period he went no farther than to present to the view of the people a young man named Lucius, of a good family, who was not quite two foot in height, and weighed only seventeen pounds, but had a prodigious voice. In one of his public entertainments, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first ever sent to Rome from that nation, through the middle of the theatre, and placed them in the second gallery above him. He used likewise, at times when no public entertainments were in agitation, if any thing was brought to town uncommon, and which might gratify curiosity, to expose it to public view, in any place whatever ; as he did a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger upon a stage, and a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed in consequence of a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the *Thensæ* *, lying upon a couch. Another time, in the games celebrated
for

* The *Thensa* was a splendid carriage with four wheels, and four horses, adorned with ivory and silver, in which the images of the Gods were drawn in solemn procession from their shrines, at the Circensian games, to a place in the Circus, called Pulvinar, where couches were prepared for their recep-

for the opening of Marcellus's theatre, the joints of his ivory seat happening to give way, he fell upon his back. And in the public diversion exhibited by his grandsons, when the people were so terrified with the apprehension of the theatre's falling, that he could not, by repeated entreaties not to run away, overcome their trepidation, he moved from his place, and sat down in the part which was most suspected.

XLIV. The confused disorderly manner of sitting at public diversions, he rectified, upon occasion of an affront put upon a Senator at Puteoli, whom, in a full assembly at the public games, no person would make room for. He therefore procured a decree of the Senate, that in all public diversions, in any place whatever, the first row of seats should be left empty for the accommodation of Senators. He would not permit even the ambassadors of free nations, and such as were allies of Rome, to sit in that part of the theatre assigned to the Senators; having discovered that some manumised slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married men amongst the commonalty their proper seats. To the boys he assigned his own *Cuneus**, and to their masters the seats

tion. It received its name from thongs (*lora tensa*) stretched before it; and was attended in the procession by persons of the first rank, in their most magnificent apparel. The attendants took delight in touching the thongs by which the chariot was drawn: and if a boy happened to let go the thong which he held, it was an indispensable rule that the procession should be renewed.

* The *Cuneus* was a bench in the theatre, or other places of public entertainment. One rose above another from the front of the stage backwards, and they were distributed respectively to the different Orders of spectators.

which

which were nearest it; ordering that none cloathed in black should sit in the middle part of the Cavea*. Nor would he allow the women to look at the combats of the gladiators, except from the upper part of the theatre, though they formerly used to take their places promiscuously with the rest of the company on that occasion. To the Vestal Virgins he granted a place in the theatre by themselves, opposite to the Prætor's bench. He excluded, however, the whole female sex from seeing the wrestlers perform their parts: so that in the games which he exhibited upon his accession to the office of High-priest, he deferred producing a pair of combatants which the people called for, until the next morning; and intimated by proclamation, "It was his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o'clock."

XLV. He generally viewed the Circensian games from the apartments of his friends or freedmen, sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the Gods, and sitting in company with his wife and children. He would, upon occasions, absent himself from those spectacles for several hours, and sometimes whole days; but not without first making an apology, and recommending some to preside at them in his room. When he was present, however, he never attended to any other object; either to avoid the reflection which he used to say was commonly made upon his father Cæsar, for perusing letters and memoirs, and answering them in writing, whilst he was present at the public diversions; or from a real pleasure he took in the

* The *Cavea* was the name of the whole of that part of the theatre where the spectators sat. The foremost rows were called *cavea prima*, or *ima*; the last, *cavea ultima* or *summa*; and the middle, *cavea media*.

fight of those exhibitions, which he was so far from concealing, that he often ingenuously owned it. On this account, he used frequently to make considerable presents to the best performers, in the diversions exhibited by others; and never was present at any performance of the Greeks, without rewarding the most deserving, according to their merit. He took particular pleasure in seeing the contests of the boxers, especially those of the country, not only such as had been trained up to it by rules of art, whom he used often to match with the Greek champions; but even the people of the city, who would fight in the streets without any knowledge of the art. In fact, he honored with his protection all such as performed any part in those public entertainments of the people. He not only maintained, but enlarged, the privileges of the wrestlers. He would not permit the gladiators to fight, without the allowance of life to the party that was worsted. He deprived the magistrates of the power of correcting the stage-players, which by an ancient law was allowed them at all times, and in all places; restricting their authority entirely to the time of performance, and to the stage. He would however admit of no abatement in the service of the wrestlers, or gladiators, but exacted from both the most strict attention to discipline. He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage-players, that upon discovering that Stephanio, an actor of Latin plays, kept a married woman with her hair cut short, and dressed in boy's cloaths, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipped through all the three theatres, and banished him. Hylas, an actor of pantomimes, upon a complaint against him by the Prætor, he commanded to be scourged with a whip, in the court of his own house, and admitted all who were desirous of seeing the punishment inflicted. And Pylades he not only banished
from

from the city, but Italy likewise, for pointing with his finger at, and turning the eyes of the company upon, a spectator by whom he was hissed.

XLVI. Having thus regulated the affairs of the city, he replenished Italy by planting in it twenty-eight colonies, and greatly improved it by public works, and a beneficial distribution of taxes. In respect of privileges and dignity, he rendered it in some measure equal to the city itself; by inventing a new kind of suffrage, which the members of the governing council should give at home, in the election of the magistrates in Rome, and send under seal to the city, about the time of the election. To encrease the number of persons of condition, and encourage propagation amongst the inferior people, he granted the petitions of all those who requested the honor of serving in the wars on horseback, provided they were seconded by the recommendation of the town in which they lived; and to such of the commonalty as, upon his viewing the several quarters of Italy, presented him with sons or daughters lawfully begotten, he distributed a thousand sesterces a head.

XLVII. The more powerful provinces, and such as could not with ease or safety be entrusted to the government of annual magistrates, he reserved to his own administration: the rest he distributed by lot amongst the Proconsuls; but sometimes he made an exchange, and frequently visited most of both kinds in person. Some cities that were in alliance with Rome, but by their great licentiousness hastening to destruction, he deprived of their liberty. Others, which were much in debt, he relieved, and rebuilt such as had been destroyed by earthquakes. To those that could produce any instance of their having
deserved

deserved well of the Roman people, he presented the freedom of Latium, or even that of the city. There is not, I believe, a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. After he had driven Sextus Pompeius into those provinces, he was indeed preparing to pass over from Sicily, but was prevented by violent storms, which continued without intermission, until the occasion for such a voyage no longer remained.

XLVIII. Kingdoms, of which he had made himself master by the right of conquest, excepting a few, he either restored to their former possessors, or conferred upon strangers. Kings, his allies, he cemented together in bonds of the most intimate union; being always ready to promote or favor any proposal of marriage or friendship amongst them; and indeed treated them all with the same consideration, as if they were members and parts of the empire. To such amongst them as were minors or lunatics he appointed guardians, until they arrived at age, or recovered their senses; and the sons of many he maintained and educated with his own.

XLIX. With respect to the military forces, he disposed of the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces. He stationed a fleet at Misene, and another at Ravenna, for the security of the upper and lower sea. A certain number of the forces he selected, partly for the guard of the city, and partly of his own person; and dismissed the body of the Calaguritanians, which he retained about him until the overthrow of Antony. He did the same by the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards, until the disaster of Varus. Yet he never permitted a greater force than three battalions in the city, and that without any camp. The rest he used
to

to distribute in the neighbouring towns about the city, in winter and summer quarters. All the troops throughout the empire he reduced to one fixed model, with regard to their pay, and the rewards to be conferred upon them at the expiration of their service; determining, according to every one's station in the troops, both the time he was to serve, and the advantages he was to enjoy upon an honorable dismissal; that they might not be tempted by their age and necessities to excite any public commotion. For the purpose of establishing a perpetual and ready fund towards the accomplishment of these objects, he instituted a military exchequer, with new taxes for the supply of it. To have the speedier intelligence of what passed in the provinces, he at first posted young men at moderate distances, along the military roads, and afterwards vehicles, which appeared to him the more commodious, because the persons who brought him the letters, might be questioned about the business, if there was any occasion.

L. In the sealing of patents, instructions, or letters, he at first used the figure of a Sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander the Great, and at last his own, engraven by the hand of Dioscorides, which the succeeding princes likewise continued to make use of. He was extremely precise in the dating of his letters, putting down exactly the time of the day or night, at which they were dispatched:

LI. Of his clemency and moderation there are abundant and signal instances. For not to enumerate how many and what persons of the opposite party he pardoned, and suffered to rise to the highest eminence in the city; he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus, and
Cassius

Cassius Patavinus, both commoners ; one of them with a fine, and the other with an easy banishment ; though the former had published, in the name of young Agrippa, a very scurrilous letter against him, and the other declared openly, at an entertainment where there was a great deal of company, “ that he neither wanted inclination nor courage to stab him.” In the trial of *Æmilius Ælianus* of Corduba, when, amongst other charges exhibited against him, it was particularly insisted upon, that he used to reflect upon *Cæsar*, the latter turning about to the accuser, said to him with an air and tone of passion, “ I wish you could make that appear, I shall let *Ælianus* know that I have a tongue too, and return him more abusive language than he ever used against me.” Nor did he either then or afterwards make any farther enquiry into the affair. And when *Tiberius*, in a letter, complained of the offence with great earnestness, he returned him an answer in the following terms : “ Do not, my dear *Tiberius*, give way to the ardor of youth in this affair ; nor be so much enraged, that any person should speak ill of me. It is sufficient, that we have it in our power to prevent any one from doing us a mischief.”

LII. Though he knew it had been customary to decree temples for the Proconsuls, yet he would not, in the provinces, permit any to be erected, unless to the honor of himself and the city Rome in conjunction. But within the limits of the city, he positively refused any honor of that kind. He melted down all the silver statues that had been erected to him, and converted the whole into tripods, which he consecrated to *Apollo Palatinus*. And when the populace importuned him to accept of the Dictatorship, he bent himself down upon one knee, with his toga thrown over his shoulders,

shoulders, his breast exposed to view, and begged to be excused.

LIII. He always abhorred the title of *Lord*, as a scandalous affront. And when, in a mimic piece, performed on the theatre, at which he was present, these words were expressed, "O just and gracious lord," and the whole company, with joyful acclamations, testified their approbation of them, as being applied to him; he both immediately put a stop to their indecent flattery, by the waving of his hand, and the severity of his looks, and next day publicly declared his displeasure, by a proclamation. He never afterwards would suffer himself to be addressed in that manner, even by his own children or grandchildren, either in jest or earnest, and forbid them the use of all such complimentary expressions to one another. He scarcely ever entered any city or great town, or departed from it, but in the evening or the night, to avoid giving any person the trouble of attending him. During his Consulships, he commonly walked the streets on foot; but at other times was carried in a covered chair. He admitted the commonalty, promiscuously with people of superior rank, to pay their respects to him; receiving the petitions of such as came to wait upon him with so much affability, that he once jocosely rebuked a man, by telling him, "You present your memoir with as much hesitation as if you were offering money to an elephant." Upon the days that the Senate assembled, he used to pay his respects only in the house, and as they sat, addressing them singly by name, without any prompter; and at his leaving the house, he in the same manner bid each of them farewell. He maintained with many a constant intercourse of civilities, giving them his company upon any particular occasion of joy in their families; until he became advanced
in

in years, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding. Being informed that Gallus Terrinius, a Senator, with whom he had only a slight acquaintance, was suddenly taken blind, and for that reason had resolved to starve himself to death, he paid him a visit, and by the consolatory admonitions he suggested, diverted him from his purpose.

LIV. Upon his speaking in the Senate, he has been told by one of the members, "I did not understand you," and by another, "I would contradict you, could I do it with safety." And sometimes, upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were conducted in the Senate, as to quit the house in anger, some of the members have repeatedly exclaimed: "Surely, the Senators ought to have the liberty of speech with respect to matters of government." Antistius Labeo, in the election of a new Senate, when every one, as he was named, chose another, nominated M. Lepidus, who had formerly been Augustus's enemy, and was then in banishment; and being asked by the latter, "Is there no other person more deserving?" he replied, "Every man has his fancy." Nor was any person ever molested for opposing either his sentiments, or inclination.

LV. When some infamous libels against him were scattered in the Senate, he was neither disturbed at the incident, nor gave himself much trouble to refute them. He would not so much as order an enquiry to be made after the authors; only gave it as his opinion to the house, that, for the future, those should be called to an account, who published libels or lampoons, in a borrowed name, against any person.

LVI. Being

LVI. Being provoked by some petulant jests, which were designed to render him odious, he answered them by a proclamation : and yet he prevented the Senate from passing an act, to restrain the licentious freedom that was taken in wills. Whenever he attended at the election of magistrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and requested the votes of the people in the usual manner. He likewise gave his vote in his tribe, as one of the people. He suffered himself to be summoned as a witness upon trials, and not only to be questioned, but to have the accuracy of his evidence examined. In building his Forum, he made it less than he wished, not presuming to force the owners of the neighbouring houses to a surrender of their property. He never recommended his sons to the people, without adding these words, " If they deserve it." And upon the company's rising up to them at the theatre, while yet under age, and clapping them standing, he made a most heavy complaint. He was desirous that his friends should be great and powerful in the city, but equally subject to the laws with any other person. When Asprenas Nonius, an intimate friend of his, was tried upon a charge of administering poison at the instance of Cassius Severus, he consulted the Senate for their opinion what was his duty upon that occasion : " For, said he, I am afraid, lest, if I should stand by him in the cause, I might be thought to screen him in defiance of the laws ; and if I do not, to desert him, and prejudice him by an unfavorable opinion." By the unanimous consent of the house, he sat amongst his advocates for several hours, but without saying so much as one word in his commendation, according to custom, upon those occasions. He likewise appeared for his clients ; as for Scutarius an old soldier of his, in an action of slander. He never delivered any from prosecution but one, by whom he had been informed of the con-

spiracy of Muræna ; and that he did only by prevailing upon the accuser, in open court, to drop his prosecution.

LVII. How much he was beloved for his meritorious behaviour in all these respects, it is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the Senate in his favor, which may seem to have been the effects of necessity or modesty. The Roman knights voluntarily, and with one accord, always celebrated the anniversary of his birth for two days together ; and all ranks of the people, every year, in consequence of a vow which they had made for that purpose, threw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, as a sacrifice for his health. They likewise, upon the first of January, presented for his acceptance new-year's gifts in the Capitol, though he was not present : with which donations he purchased some costly images of the Gods, which he erected in several streets of the city ; as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, Jupiter Tragædus, and others. When his house in the Palatium was accidentally destroyed by fire, the veteran soldiers, the judges, and all the people, jointly and separately contributed, each man according to his ability, for rebuilding it ; though he would accept only of some small portion out of the several sums collected, and would take no more from any single heap, than one denarius *. Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they attended him not only with joyful acclamations, but songs ; and when he entered the city, they constantly suspended during that day the punishment of malefactors.

LVIII. The whole body of the people, upon a sudden motion, and with unanimous consent, offered him the

* A coin, in value about eight pence half-penny farthing of our money.

title of *Father of his Country*. It was sent to him first at Antium, by a deputation from the commonalty; and upon his declining the honor, they repeated their offer in a full theatre, with laurel crowns on their heads. The Senate soon after adopted the proposal, not in the way of acclamation or decree, but by commission to M. Messala, who was ordered to compliment him with it, as he accordingly did in the following terms: "With hearty wishes for the happiness of yourself and your family, Cæsar Augustus, (for so we think we most effectually pray for the public welfare) the Senate, in conjunction with the people, salute you by the title of *Father of your Country*." To this compliment Augustus, with tears in his eyes, replied in these words (for I put them down exactly, as I have done those of Messala): "Having now obtained the utmost of my wishes, O Conscript Fathers *, what else have I to beg

* The Senate was instituted by Romulus, to be the perpetual council of the Republic. It consisted at first of a hundred members, who were called *Patres*, i. e. Fathers; either upon account of their age, or their paternal care of the state. The number received some augmentation under Tullus Hostilius; and Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, added a hundred more, who were called *Patres minorum gentium*; those created by Romulus being distinguished by the name of *Patres majorum gentium*. Such as were chosen into the Senate by Brutus, after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, to supply the place of those whom that king had slain, were called *Conscripti*, i. e. persons written or enrolled with the old Senators, who alone were properly styled *Patres*. Hence arose the custom of summoning to the Senate those who were *Patres*, and those who were *Conscripti*; and hence also was applied to the Senators in general the designation of *Patres Conscripti*, the particle *et*, and, being understood to connect the two classes of Senators. In the time of

beg of the immortal Gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me to the last moments of my life?"

LIX. To the physician Antonius Musa, who had cured him of a dangerous illness, they, by common contribution, erected a statue near that of Æsculapius. Some persons ordered in their wills, that their heirs should carry victims into the Capitol, with a scroll before them, expressing that they were to be offered for the completion of a vow, made by the testators, "Because they had left Augustus behind them in the world." Some cities of Italy appointed the day upon which he first came to them, to be for ever after the first day of their year. And most of the provinces, besides temples and altars erected to his honor, instituted games, to be celebrated, in almost every town, for the same purpose, every five years.

LX. The kings his friends and allies, each of them in their respective kingdoms, built cities under the name of Cæsarea; and all by consent resolved to finish, at their common charge, a temple of Jupiter Olympius, which had been begun at Athens a long time before, and consecrate it to his Genius. They would often likewise leave their kingdoms, and laying aside the badges of their royal dignity, in a Roman dress, attend and pay their respects to him daily, in the manner of clients to their patrons, not only when he was at Rome, but as he was travelling through their provinces.

Julius Cæsar, the number of Senators was encreased to nine hundred, and after his death to a thousand; many worthless persons having been admitted into the Senate during the civil wars. Augustus afterwards reduced the number to six hundred.

LXI. Having

LXI. Having thus given an account of his behaviour in his offices both civil and military, and his conduct in the government of the empire, both in peace and war; I shall now delineate his private and domestic life, his behaviour at home amongst his friends and dependents, and the fortune attending him in those scenes of retirement, from his youth to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first Consulship, and his sister Octavia when he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He behaved towards them both with the utmost kindness whilst living, and after their decease paid the highest honors to their memory.

LXII. He was contracted when very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus; but upon his reconciliation with Antony after their first rupture, the armies on both sides insisting upon a closer alliance by marriage betwixt them, he espoused Antony's step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia by Publius Claudius, though at that time scarcely marriageable; and upon a difference arising with his mother-in-law Fulvia, he divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon after he took to wife Scribonia, who had before been twice married to men of Consular rank, and was a mother by one of them. With her likewise he parted, being quite tired out, as he himself writes, with the perverseness of her temper; and immediately took Livia Drusilla, though then pregnant, from her husband Tiberius Nero; for whom he ever after maintained the most tender affection.

LXIII. He had his daughter Julia by Scribonia, but no children by Livia, though extremely desirous of issue. She indeed conceived once, but miscarried. He disposed of his daughter Julia first to Marcellus his sister's son,

who had just completed his minority ; and, after his death, to M. Agrippa, having prevailed with his sister to resign her son-in-law to him ; for at that time Agrippa was married to one of the Marcellas, and had likewise had children by her. His new son-in-law being also dead, he for a long time thought of several matches for Julia in the Equestrian Order, and at last resolved upon choosing for her Tiberius his step-son, whom he therefore obliged to part with his wife, at that time pregnant, and who had already brought him a child. M. Antony writes, “ That he first contracted Julia to his son, afterwards to Cotiso king of the Getæ, demanding at the same time the king’s daughter in marriage for himself.”

LXIV. He had three grandsons by Agrippa and Julia, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa ; and two grand-daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to Lucius Paullus, the Cenfor’s son, and Agrippina to Germanicus his sister’s grandson. Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase from their father ; advanced them, whilst yet but very young, to posts in the government ; and after he had procured them to be chosen Consuls, sent them upon a tour through the provinces of the empire, and the several armies. In the breeding of his daughter and grand-daughters, he accustomed them to domestic employments, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the diary. He so strictly prohibited them from all converse with strangers, that he once wrote a letter to Lucius Vinicius, a handsome young man of a good family, in which he told him, “ You have not behaved very modestly, in making a visit to my daughter at Baïæ.” He usually instructed his grandsons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of knowledge ;
and

and he labored nothing more than to perfect them in the imitation of his hand-writing. He never supped but he had them sitting at the foot of his bed; nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.

LXV. But in the midst of all his joy and expectations of happiness in his children, from the care he took in their education, his fortune failed him. The two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, proceeded to such a height of lewdness and debauchery, that he banished them both. Caius and Lucius he lost within the space of eighteen months; the former dying in Lycia, and the latter at Marseilles. His third grandson Agrippa, with his step-son Tiberius, he adopted in the Forum, by a law passed for the purpose by the *Curia* *; but he soon after renounced Agrippa for his rude and insolent temper, and confined him at Surrentum. He bore the death of his relations with more patience than their scandalous behaviour: for he was not much concerned at the loss of Caius and Lucius; but his misfortune with respect to his daughter, he set forth before the Senate in a narrative read to them by the *Quæstor*; and was so much ashamed of her infamous behaviour, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. It is certain, that when one Phœbe, a freed-woman and confident of hers, hanged herself about the same time, he said upon it, “ I wish I had been the father

* The *Curia* were public assemblies of the people. Romulus divided the people of Rome into three tribes; and each tribe into ten *Curia*. The number of tribes was afterwards encreased by degrees to thirty-five; but that of the *Curia* always remained the same.

of Phœbe rather than of Julia." In her banishment, he would not allow her the use of wine nor any thing of finery; nor would he suffer her to be waited upon by any male servant, either freeman or slave, without his permission, and a particular information in respect of his age, stature, complexion, and what marks or scars he had about him. At the end of five years he removed her from the island of her confinement to the continent, and permitted her a little better treatment, but could never be prevailed with to recall her. Upon the Roman people's interposing with him in her behalf several times, and using much importunity, he said to them in a speech upon the occasion, "I wish ye had all such daughters and wives as she is." He likewise forbid a child, of which his grand-daughter Julia was delivered after sentence had passed against her, to be either owned as a relation, or brought up. Agrippa, who was equally intractable, and became more disorderly every day, he transported into an island, and placed a guard of soldiers upon him; procuring at the same time an act of the Senate for his confinement there during life. Upon any mention of him and the two Julias, he would say with a heavy sigh,

Αἰδ' ὄφελον ἀγάμος τ' ἐμὲναι, ἀγόνος τ' ἀπολεθαι !

Would I without a wife or child had died !

nor did he usually call them by any other name than that of his "three imposthumes or cancers."

LXVI. He was slow in forming friendships, but when once they were contracted, he maintained them with great constancy; not only rewarding very handsomely the virtues and good services of his friends, but bearing likewise with their faults and vices, provided that they
were

were of a venial kind. For amongst all his friends, we scarcely find any who fell into disgrace with him, except Salvidienus Rufus, whom he raised to the Consulship, and Cornelius Gallus whom he made governor of Egypt, both of them men of the lowest extraction. One of these, being engaged in a design to excite a rebellion, he delivered up to the Senate, that he might be condemned; and the other, on account of his ungrateful and malicious temper, he dismissed from his family and the provinces under his government. But when Gallus, by the threats of his accusers, and the votes of the Senate against him, was driven to the desperate extremity of laying violent hands upon himself; he commended indeed the attachment of the Senate, that had expressed so much resentment on his account, but he shed tears, and lamented his unhappy condition, "That I alone, said he, cannot be permitted to be angry with my friends to such a degree as I think proper." The rest of his friends continued during their whole lives to make a distinguished figure in their several orders, both in power and estate, notwithstanding some occasional incidents of a disagreeable nature. For, to say nothing of others, he would sometimes complain of impatience in Agrippa, and of loquacity in Mecænas: the former, from a suspicion of a coolness in Augustus towards him, and because Marcellus received greater marks of favor, having withdrawn himself from all concern in the government, and retired to Mitylene; and the latter having confidentially imparted to his wife Terentia the discovery of Muræna's conspiracy. He likewise expected from his friends, both living and dying, a mutual proof of their benevolence. For though he was far from coveting their estates (as he never would accept of any legacy left him by a stranger), yet he examined their last sentiments of
him,

him, expressed in their wills, with an anxious attention : not being able to conceal his chagrin, if they made but a slight, or no very honorable mention of him, nor his joy on the other hand, if they expressed a grateful sense of his favors, and a hearty affection for him. And what was left him by such as had children, he used to restore to the latter, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their assuming the manly habit, or of their marriage, with interest.

LXVII. As a patron and master, his behaviour in general was mild and conciliating ; but when occasion required it, he could be severe. He employed many of his freedmen in considerable posts about him, as Licinius, Enceladus, and others. And when his slave Cosmus had reflected bitterly upon him, he resented the injury no farther than by putting him in fetters. When his steward Diomedes, as they were walking together, left him exposed to a wild boar, which came suddenly upon them, he chose rather to charge him with cowardice than any ill design, and turned an incident of no small hazard to his person into a jest, because it had proceeded from no treachery. Proculus, who was one of his greatest favorites amongst all his freedmen, he put to death, for maintaining a criminal commerce with other men's wives. He broke the legs of his secretary Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denarii to discover the contents of a letter of his. And his son Caius's tutor, and other attendants, upon the occasion of his sickness and death, behaving with great insolence, and committing acts of rapaciousness, he tied great weights about their necks, and threw them into a river.

LXVIII. In his youth he lay under the infamy of various

various aspersions. Sextus Pompey reproached him as an effeminate fellow ; and M. Antony, that he had earned his adoption from his uncle by prostitution. L. Antony likewise upbraids him with the same ; and that he had, for a gratification of three hundred thousand sesterces, submitted to A. Hirtius in the same way, in Spain ; adding, that he used to finge his legs with the flame of nut-shells, to make the hair become softer. Nay, the body of the people, at some public diversions in the theatre, when the following sentence was recited, alluding to a priest of the Mother of the Gods beating a drum,

Videsne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet ?

See how the catamite his orb commands !

considered it as intended to reflect upon him, and signified their approbation of it by great applause.

LXIX. That he was guilty of various acts of adultery, is not denied even by his friends ; but they alledge in excuse for it, that he engaged in those intrigues not from lewdness but policy, to discover more easily the designs of his enemies by their wives. M. Antony, besides the precipitate marriage of Livia, charges him with taking from the table the wife of a man of Consular rank, in the presence of her husband, into a bed-chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great disorder : that he had divorced Scribonia, for resenting with some freedom the excessive sway which a mistress of his had over him : that his friends were employed to pimp for him, and accordingly obliged both matrons and virgins to strip, for a complete examination of their persons, in the same manner as if Thoranius the dealer in slaves had them under sale. And before they came to an open rupture, he
writes

writes to him in a familiar manner thus: "What has altered you? that I ly with a queen? she is my wife. Is this a new thing with me, or have I not done so for these nine years? And do you take a freedom with Drufilla only? May health and happiness so attend you, as when you read this letter, you are not in dalliance with Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. What matters it to you where, or upon whom, you employ your vigor?"

LXX. A supper which he gave, commonly called the Supper of the Twelve Gods, and at which the guests were all dressed in the habit of Gods and Goddeses, and himself in that of Apollo, afforded subject of much conversation, and was imputed to him not only by Antony in his letters, who likewise names all the parties concerned, but in the following well-known and anonymous verses.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
 Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas:
 Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,
 Dum nova divorum cœnat adulteria:
 Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinârunt:
 Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.

When Mallia late beheld, in motley train,
 Twelve mortals ape twelve deities in vain;
 When Cæsar seiz'd what was Apollo's due,
 And impious robb'ry rag'd throughout the crew;
 At the foul sight the Gods avert their eyes,
 And from his throne great Jove indignant flies.

What rendered this supper more obnoxious to public censure, was, that it happened at a time when there was a great scarcity, and almost a famine in the city. The day after, a complaint was current amongst the people,
 "that

“ that the Gods had eaten up all the corn ; and that Cæsar was indeed Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor ;” under which title that God was worshipped in the city. He was likewise charged with being excessively fond of fine furniture, and Corinthian vessels, as well as with being addicted to gaming. For during the time of the procription, the following line was written upon his statue :

Pater argentarius, ego Corintharius.

Silver my father serv'd ; no other mass

Delights my fancy, but Corinthian brass.

because it was believed, that he had put some upon the list of the proscribed, only to obtain the Corinthian vessels in their possession. And afterwards in the war of Sicily, the following epigram was published :

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,

Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.

Twice having lost a fleet in luckless fight,

To beat at last, he games both day and night.

LXXI. With respect to the charge of prostitution abovementioned, he very easily refuted it by the chastity of his life, at the very time when the imputation was made, as well as ever after. His conduct likewise gave the lie to that of a luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when, upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved for himself nothing of all the furniture of the palace, but a cup of porcelain ; and soon after melted down all the golden vessels, even such as were intended for common use. But he never could discountenance the imputation of lewdness with women ; being, as they say, in the latter part of his life, much addicted to the deflowering of virgins, who were procured for him, from all parts, even by his own wife. To the remarks concerning his gaming,

gaming, he paid not the smallest regard; but played frankly and openly for his diversion, even when he was advanced in years; and not only in the month of December, but at other times, and upon all days, whether festivals or not. This evidently appears from a letter under his own hand, in which he says, “I supped, my dear Tiberius, with the same company. We had besides Vinicius, and Silvius the father. We gamed like old fellows at supper, both yesterday and to-day. And as any one threw upon the *tali* * aces or fixes, he put down for every *talus* a denarius; all which was gained by him who threw a Venus.” In another letter he says: “We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it during the festival of Minerva: for we played every day, and kept the gaming board warm. Your brother uttered many exclamations at a desperate run of ill fortune; but recovering by degrees, and unexpectedly, he in the end lost not much. I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely generous in my play, as I commonly am; for had I insisted upon the stakes which I declined, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand. But this I like better: for my generosity will raise me to celestial glory.” In a letter to his daughter, he writes thus: “I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarii, which I gave to every one of my guests; in case they were inclined at supper to

* The Romans, at their feasts, during the intervals of drinking, often played at dice, of which there were two kinds, the *tesseræ* and *tali*. The former had six sides, like the modern dice; the latter, four oblong sides, for the two ends were not regarded. In playing, they used three *tesseræ* and four *tali*, which were all put into a box wider below than above, and being shaken, were thrown out upon the gaming board or table.

divert

divert themselves with the *tali*, or at the game of even or odd.

LXXII. In other parts of his life, it is certain that he conducted himself with great discretion, and was free from all suspicion of any vice. He lived at first near the Roman Forum, above the Ringmaker's Stairs, in a house which had once been occupied by Calvus the orator. He afterwards moved to the Palatium, where he resided in a small house belonging to Hortensius, no way remarkable either in respect of accommodation or ornament; the piazzas being but small, the pillars of Alban stone, and the rooms without any thing of marble, or fine paving. He continued to use the same bed-chamber, both winter and summer, during forty years: for though he was sensible that the city did not agree well with his health, he nevertheless resided constantly in it through the winter. If at any time he wished to be perfectly retired, and secure from interruption, he shut himself up in an apartment in the top of his house, which he called Syracuse, or Τεχνοφύρον*, or he went to some seat belonging to his freedmen near the city. But when he was indisposed, he commonly took up his residence in Mecænas's house. Of all the places of retirement from the city, he chiefly frequented those upon the sea-coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns near the city, as Lanuvium, Præneste, and Tibur, where he often used to sit for the administration of justice, in the porticos of Hercules's temple. He had a particular aversion to large and sumptuous palaces; and some that had been raised at a vast expence by his grand-

* This word may be interpreted the *Closet of Arts*. It was common, in the houses of the great, amongst the Romans, to have an apartment called the Study: but perhaps Augustus thought such a name too formal for the place of his retirement.

daughter Julia, he levelled with the ground. Those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorned not so much with statues and pictures, as with walks and groves, and things which were curious either for their antiquity or rarity ; such as at Capreaë, the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants, and the arms of old heroes.

LXXIII. His frugality in the furniture of his house appears even at this day, from some beds and tables still extant ; most of which are scarcely fit for any genteel private family. It is reported that he never lay upon a bed, but such as was low, and meanly furnished. He seldom wore any garment but what was made by the hands of his wife, sister, daughter, and grand-daughters. His togas* were neither scanty nor full ; nor the *clavus* of his tunic either remarkably broad or narrow. His shoes were a little higher than common, to make him

* The *Toga* was a loose woollen robe, which covered the whole body, close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, and without sleeves. The right arm was thus at liberty, and the left supported a flap of the *toga*, which was drawn up, and thrown back over the left shoulder ; forming what was called *Sinus*, a fold or cavity upon the breast, in which things might be carried, and with which the face or head might be occasionally covered.

When a person did any work, he tucked up his *toga*, and girded it round him. The *toga* of the rich and noble was finer and larger than that of others ; and a new *toga* was called *Pexa*. None but Roman citizens were permitted to wear the *toga* ; and banished persons were prohibited the use of it. The color of the *toga* was white. Magistrates and certain priests had it bordered with purple ; as had also private persons when they exhibited games.

appear

appear taller than he was. He had always cloaths and shoes, proper to go abroad in, ready by him in his bed-chamber, for any sudden occasion.

LXXIV. At his table, which was always plentiful and elegant, he constantly entertained company; but was very scrupulous in the choice of them. Valerius Messala informs us, that he never admitted any freedman to his table, except Menas, after he had betrayed to him Pompey's fleet, but not until he had promoted him to the state of the free-born. He writes himself that he invited to his table a person in whose country-house he lodged, that had formerly been a spy to him. He often would come late to table, and withdraw soon, so that the company began supper before his coming in, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three dishes, or at most only six. But if the expence was moderate, the complaisance with which he treated his company was extraordinary. For such as were silent, or talked low, he excited to bear a part in the common conversation; and ordered in music and stage-players and dancers from the Circus, and very often itinerant declaimers, to enliven the company.

LXXV. Festivals and solemn days of joy he usually celebrated in a very expensive manner, but sometimes only in a jocular manner. In the Saturnalia, or at any other time when the fancy took him, he would distribute to his company cloaths, gold, and silver: sometimes coins of all sorts, even of the ancient kings of Rome and of other nations: sometimes nothing but hair-cloth, sponges, peels and pincers, and other things of that kind, with obscure and ambiguous inscriptions upon them. He used likewise to sell tickets of things of very unequal value,

and pictures with the back sides turned towards the company at table ; and so, by the unknown quality of the lot, disappoint or gratify the expectation of the purchasers. This sort of traffic went round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to run the chance of loss or gain with the rest.

LXXVI. He was a man of a little stomach (for I must not omit even this article), and commonly used a plain diet. He was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fishes, cheese made of cow's milk, and green figs of that kind that comes twice a year. He would eat before supper, at any time, and in any place, when he had an appetite. The following passages relative to this subject, I have transcribed from his letters. " I ate a little bread and some small dates in my chaise." Again. " In returning home from the palace in my chair, I ate an ounce of bread, and a few raisins." Again. " No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps a fast so strictly upon the Sabbath, as I have kept one to-day ; who in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, ate two mouthfuls of bread, before I began to be anointed." From this great indifference about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company began, or after they had done ; and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

LXXVII. He was naturally extremely sparing in the use of wine. Cornelius Nepos says, that he used to drink only three times at supper in the camp at Modena ; and when he indulged himself the most, he never exceeded a pint ; or if he did, he threw it up again. Of all wines, he gave the preference to the Rhætic, but scarcely ever drank any in the day-time. Instead of drinking, he used to take a piece of bread dipped in cold water, or a slice of cucumber,

cumber, or some leaves of lettuce, or a green sharp juicy apple.

LXXVIII. After a little food at noon, he used to take a nap with his cloaths and shoes on, his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he commonly withdrew to a couch in his study, where he continued late, until he had put down in his Diary all or most of the remaining transactions of the day, which he had not before registered. He would then go to bed, but never slept above seven hours at most, and that not without interruption: for he would wake three or four times in that space. If he could not again fall asleep, as sometimes happened, he would call for some person to read or tell stories to him, until sleep supervened, which was usually protracted till after day-break. He never would ly awake in the dark, without somebody to sit by him. Very early rising was apt to disagree with him. On which account, if religious or social duty obliged him to get up early, that he might guard as much as possible against the inconvenience resulting from it, he used to lodge in some apartment belonging to any of his domestics, that was nearest the place at which he was to give his attendance. If at any time a fit of drowsiness seized him in passing along the streets, he would order the chair to be set down, until he had taken a little sleep.

LXXIX. In person he was handsome and graceful, through all the stages of his life. But he was careless of dress; and so little attentive to the adjustment of his hair, that he usually had it done in great haste, by several barbers at a time. He would sometimes clip, and sometimes shave his beard; and during the operation, would be either reading or writing. His countenance, either when

he spoke or held his tongue, was so calm and serene, that a Gaul of the first rank declared amongst his friends, that he was so much mollified by it, as to be restrained from throwing him down a precipice, in his passage over the Alps, upon being admitted to approach him, under the pretext of speaking with him. His eyes were clear and bright; and he was willing it should be thought that there was something of a divine vigor in them. He was likewise not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking stedfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw very imperfectly with his left eye. His teeth were thin set, small and rough, his hair a little curled, and inclining to a yellow color. His eye-brows met; his ears were small, and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair; his stature but low; though Julius Marathus his freedman says, he was five foot and nine inches in height. This however was so much concealed by the just proportion of his limbs, that it was only perceivable upon comparison with some taller person standing by him.

LXXX. He is said to have been born with many spots upon his breast and belly, answering to the figure, order, and number of stars in the celestial Bear. He had besides several callosities resembling tetters, occasioned by an itching in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil in being rubbed. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side. But he received much benefit from the use of sand and reeds. He likewise found the fore-finger of his right hand so weak sometimes, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, to use it in writing, he was obliged to have recourse to a circular piece of horn. He had occasionally
a complaint

a complaint in the bladder ; but upon voiding some stones by urine, he was relieved from that pain.

LXXXI. In all the stages of his life, he experienced some dangerous fits of sickness, especially after the conquest of Cantabria, when his liver being injured by a defluxion of rheum upon it, he was reduced to such a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a desperate and doubtful method of cure : for warm applications having no effect, Antonius Musa directed the use of those which were cold. He was likewise subject to fits of sickness at stated times every year ; for about his birth-day he was commonly a little indisposed. In the beginning of spring, he was attacked with an inflation of the midriff ; and when the wind was southerly, with a cold in his head. By all these complaints, his constitution was so shattered, that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.

LXXXII. In winter, he was fortified against the inclemency of the weather by a thick toga, four tunics, a shirt, a flannel stomacher, and wrappers upon his legs and thighs. In summer, he lay with the doors of his bed-chamber open, and frequently in a piazza, with water flowing along the place, and a person standing by to fan him. He could not bear even the winter's sun ; and at home, never walked in the open air without a broad-brimmed hat on his head. He usually travelled in a chair, and in the night ; and with so slow a pace, that he would be two days in going to Præneste or Tibur. And if he could go to any place by sea, he preferred that mode of conveyance to travelling by land. He supported however his crazy constitution with great care, and chiefly by being sparing in the use of the bath. He was often rubbed with oil, and used to sweat by a fire ; after which he was washed with wa-

ter, warmed either over a fire, or by being exposed to the heat of the sun. When, upon account of his nerves, he was obliged to have recourse to sea-water, or the waters of Albula, he always placed himself upon a wooden seat, which he called by a Spanish name *Durata*, and tossed about his hands and feet in the water by turns.

LXXXIII. Immediately after the conclusion of the civil wars, he laid aside the usual exercises of arms, and riding in the Field of Mars; instead of which he betook himself at first to the larger ball; but soon after, used no other exercise than that of going abroad in his chair, or walking. Towards the end of his walk, he would run leaping, wrapped up in linen or flannel. For amusement he would sometimes angle, or play with the tali, checquers, or nuts, with pretty prattling little boys, whom he used to procure from various parts, particularly Mauritania and Syria. But dwarfs, and such as were in any way deformed, he held in abhorrence, as *lusus naturæ* (the sport of nature) and ominous creatures.

LXXXIV. From early youth he devoted himself with great diligence and application to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal arts. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty affairs in which he was engaged, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day. He never addressed the Senate, people, or soldiery, but in a premeditated speech, though he was not destitute of the talent of speaking extempore. And lest his memory should fail him, as well as to prevent the loss of time in getting his speeches by heart, he resolved to read them all. In his intercourse with individuals, and even with his wife Livia, upon a subject of importance, he had all he would say down in writing, lest, if he spoke extempore, he should
say

say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, in which he was diligently instructed by a master. But when he had a cold, he sometimes made use of a crier for the delivery of his speeches to the people.

LXXXV. He composed a great many pieces, and upon various subjects, in prose, some of which he read occasionally at a meeting of friends as to an auditory; as his “Answers to Brutus in regard to Cato.” Those volumes he read almost quite through himself; but being then advanced in years, and fatigued with the exercise, he gave the rest to Tiberius to read for him. He likewise read over to his friends his “Exhortations to Philosophy,” and “The History of his own Life,” which he continued in thirteen books, as far as the war of Cantabria, but no farther. He likewise made some attempts at poetry. There is extant one book written by him in hexameter verse, of which both the subject and title is Sicily. There is another book of Epigrams likewise, as small as the preceding, which he composed almost entirely in the time of bathing. These are all his compositions in the poetical department: for though he had begun with great eagerness a Tragedy, yet the style of it not pleasing him, he cancelled the whole; and his friends saying to him, “What is your Ajax a doing?” he answered, “My Ajax has fallen upon a sponge.”

LXXXVI. He had a neat chaste style, untainted with any frivolous or impertinent sentiments, and free from the offensiveness, as he calls it, of obsolete words. His chief object was to deliver his thoughts with all possible perspicuity. To obtain this end, and that he might no where perplex, or retard the reader or hearer, he made no

scruple to add prepositions to his verbs, or to repeat the same conjunction several times; which, when omitted, occasion some little obscurity, but give a grace to the style. The awkward imitators of others, and such as affected obsolete words, he equally despised, as faulty in a different manner. He sometimes indulged himself in jesting, particularly with his friend Mecænas, whom he rallied upon all occasions for his “perfumed locks,” and bantered by imitating the manner of his expression. Nor did he spare Tiberius, who was fond of obsolete and antiquated words. He attacks M. Antony as a madman, writing rather to make men stare, than to be understood; and by way of sarcasm upon his depraved and fickle taste in the choice of words, he writes to him thus: “And are you yet in doubt, whether Cimber Annius or Veranius Flaccus be more proper for your imitation? so as to make use of words which Sallustius Crispus has borrowed from the ‘Origines’ of Cato? or do you think that the verbose empty bombast of Asiatic orators is fit to be transfused into our language?” And in a letter where he commends the ingenuity of his grand-daughter Agrippina, he says, “But you must be particularly careful, both in writing and speaking, to avoid affectation.”

LXXXVII. In ordinary conversation, he made use of expressions peculiar to himself, as appears from several letters in his own hand-writing: in which, now and then, when he means to intimate that some persons would never pay their debts, he says, “They will pay at the Greek Calends.” And when he advises to patience under the situation of affairs, such as it then was, he would say, “Let us be content with this Cato.” To express the expedition with which any thing was done, he said, “It was sooner done than sparrowgrass was boiled.”

He

He constantly puts *baceolus* for *stultus*, *pullejaceus* for *pul-lus*, *vacerosus* for *ceritus*, *vapide se habere* for *male*, and *betiffare* for *languere*, which is commonly called *lachaniffare*. Likewise *simus* for *sumus*, *domos* for *domus* in the genitive singular. With respect to the last two peculiarities, lest any person should imagine that they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies. I have likewise remarked this singularity in his hand-writing: he never divides his words, so as to carry the letters which cannot be inserted at the end of a line to the next, but puts them below the other, enclosed with a semicircle.

LXXXVIII. He did not adhere strictly to orthography as laid down by the grammarians, but seems to have been of the opinion of those, who think that we ought to write as we speak; for as to his changing and omitting not only letters but whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I have taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, any person should have told us, that he sent a successor to a Consular lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had written *ixi* for *ipsi*. When he had a mind to write in the way of cypher, he put *b* for *a*, *c* for *b*, and so forth; and instead of *z*, *aa*.

LXXXIX. He was no less fond of Grecian literature, in which he made considerable proficiency; having for this purpose had the assistance of Apollodorus of Pergamus, as his master in rhetoric, whom, though much advanced in years, he took with him, when he was very young, from the city to Apollonia. Afterwards, being instructed in philology by Sphærus, he took into his family Arcus the philosopher, and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor;

Nicanor; but he never could speak the Greek tongue readily, nor ever ventured to compose in it. For if there was occasion for him to deliver his sentiments in that language, he always expressed what he had to say in Latin, and gave it another to translate. He was evidently not unacquainted with the poetry of the Greeks, and had a great taste for ancient comedy, which he often brought upon the stage, in his public entertainments of the people. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he paid particular attention to precepts and examples, which might be useful in public or private life. Those he used to transcribe verbatim, and send either to his domestics, or to such as had the command of his armies, or the government of his provinces, or to the magistrates of the city; as any of them seemed to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the Senate, and made them known to the people by proclamation; as the orations of Q. Metellus "for the Encouragement of Matrimony," and those of Rutilius about "a Method of Building;" to shew the people that he was not the first who had prosecuted those objects, but that the ancients likewise had thought them worthy their attention. He was a great encourager of men of parts and learning. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature; and not only pieces of poetry and history, but speeches and dialogues likewise. He was displeased however that any thing should be written upon himself, except in a grave manner, and by men of the most eminent abilities: and he enjoined the Prætors not to suffer his name to be made too common in the contests amongst orators and poets for victory.

XC. With respect to his observation of omens or the like, we have the following account of him. He had so
great

great a dread of thunder and lightning, that he always carried about him a seal's skin, by way of preservation. And upon any apprehension of a storm, he would retire to some vault under ground; having formerly been terrified by a flash of lightning, as he was travelling in the night, which we have already taken notice of.

XCI. He neither slighted his own dreams, nor those of other people relating to himself. At the battle of Philippi, though he had resolved not to stir out of his tent, on account of being indisposed, yet, upon the occasion of a dream which a friend of his had, he altered his resolution; and it was fortunate for him that he did so; for the camp was taken, and his couch, upon a supposition of his being in it, was pierced in several parts, and cut to pieces. He had many frivolous silly dreams during the spring; but in the other parts of the year, his dreams were less frequent, and more significative. Upon his frequently visiting a temple in the Capitol, which he had dedicated to Thundering Jove, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were taken from him, and that upon this he replied, he had only given him the Thunderer for his porter. He therefore immediately hung the ceiling of the temple round with little bells; because such commonly hung at the gates of great houses. Upon occasion of a dream too, he always, on a certain day of the year, begged an alms of the people, reaching out his hand to receive the dole with which they presented him.

XCII. Some signs and omens he regarded as infallible. If in the morning his shoe was put on wrong, or the left instead of the right, that was with him a dismal presage. If, upon his setting out on a long journey by sea or land,
there

there happened to fall a missing rain he held it to be a good sign, of a speedy and happy return. He was much affected likewise with any thing out of the common course of nature. A palm-tree, which chanced to grow up betwixt some stones in the pavement before his house, he transplanted into a court where the household Gods were placed, and took all possible care to make it thrive. When, in Capreæ, some decayed branches of an old oak, which hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves upon his arrival in that island, he was so rejoiced at it, that he made an exchange with the government of Naples, of the island of *Ænaria*, for that of Capreæ. He likewise observed certain days; as never to go from home the day after the *Nundinæ**, nor to begin any thing of serious business upon the *Nones*†; avoiding nothing else in it, as he writes to Tiberius, than the unluckiness of the name.

* The *Nundinæ* were every ninth day, when a market was held at Rome, and the people came to it from the country. The practice was not then introduced amongst the Romans, of dividing their time into weeks, as we do in imitation of the Jews. Dion, who flourished under Severus, says that it first took place a little before his time, and was derived from the Egyptians.

† The Romans divided their months into Calends, Nones, and Ides. The first day of the month was the Calends of that month; whence they reckoned backwards, distinguishing the time by the day before the Calends, the second day before the Calends, and so on, to the Ides of the preceding month. In eight months of the year, the Nones were the fifth day, and the Ides the thirteenth: but in March, May, July, and October, the Nones fell on the seventh, and the Ides on the fifteenth. From the Nones, they reckoned backwards to the Calends, as they also did from the Ides to the Nones.

XCIH. With

XCIII. With regard to the religious ceremonies of foreign nations, he was a strict observer of such as had been established by ancient custom; but others he held in no esteem. For having been initiated at Athens, and being afterwards to hear a cause at Rome, relative to the privileges of the priests of the Attic Ceres, when some of the mysteries of that worship were to be introduced in the pleadings, he dismissed those who sat upon the bench as judges with him, as well as the bye-standers, and heard the debate upon those points himself. But on the other hand, he not only declined, in his progress through Egypt, calling to visit Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Caius for not paying his devotions at Jerusalem in his passage by Judea.

XCIV. Since we are upon this subject, it may not be improper to subjoin an account of the omens, before and at his birth, as well as afterwards, that gave hopes of his future grandeur, and the good fortune that constantly attended him. A part of the town-wall at Velitræ having in former times been struck with thunder, the soothsayers gave their opinion upon it, that a native of that place would some time or other be master of the Roman state: in confidence of which prediction, the Velitrini, both immediately, and at several times after, made war with the Roman people, until they brought themselves upon the brink of destruction. At last it appeared by the event, that that omen had portended the rise of Augustus. Julius Marathus informs us, that a few months before his birth, there happened at Rome a prodigy, by which was signified that Nature was in travail with a king for the Roman people; and that the Senate being alarmed came to a resolution that no child born that year should be brought up; but that those amongst them, whose wives

were

were pregnant, to secure to themselves a prospect of that dignity, took care that the resolution of the Senate should not be registered in the treasury. I find in the theological books of Asclepiades the Mendesian, that Atia, upon attending at midnight a religious solemnity in honor of Apollo, when the rest of the matrons retired home, took a nap in her chair in the temple, and that a serpent immediately crept to her, and soon after withdrew. She awaking upon it, purified herself, as usual after the embraces of her husband; and instantly there appeared upon her body a mark in the form of a serpent, which she never after could efface, and which obliged her, during the subsequent part of her life, to decline the use of the public baths. Augustus, it is added, was born in the tenth month after, and for that reason was thought to be the son of Apollo. The same Atia, before her delivery, dreamt that her bowels stretched to the stars, and expanded through the whole circuit of heaven and earth. His father Octavius likewise dreamt that a sun-beam issued from his wife's womb. Upon the day he was born, the Senate being employed upon the consideration of Catiline's conspiracy, and Octavius, upon account of his wife's condition, coming late into the house, it is a well known fact, that Publius Nigidius, upon hearing the occasion of his coming so late, and the hour of his wife's delivery, declared that the world had got a master. Afterwards, when Octavius, upon marching with his army through the wilds of Thrace, according to the usage of the country, consulted the oracle of father Bacchus about his son, he received from the priests an answer to the same purpose; because when they poured wine upon the altar, there burst out so prodigious a flame, that it ascended above the roof of the temple, and reached up to the heavens, a circumstance which had never happened

to any one but Alexander the Great, upon his sacrificing at the same altars. And next night he dreamt he saw his son under a more than human appearance, with thunder and a sceptre, and the other habiliments of Jupiter, having on his head a crown ornamented with rays, mounted upon a chariot decked with laurel, and drawn by six milk-white horses. Whilst he was yet an infant, as C. Drusus relates, being laid in his cradle by his nurse, and in a low place, the next day he was not to be found, and after he had been sought for a long time, he was at last discovered upon a very high tower, lying with his face towards the east. When he first began to speak, he ordered the frogs that happened to make a troublesome noise, upon an estate belonging to the family near the town, to be silent; and there goes a report that frogs never croaked there since that time. As he was dining in a grove about four miles from Rome on the road to Campania, an eagle suddenly snatched a piece of bread out of his hand, and flying to a prodigious height with it, came unexpectedly down again by an easy motion, and returned it to him. Q. Catulus, for two nights successively after his dedication of the Capitol, had a dream. The first night he dreamt that Jupiter, out of several boys that were playing about his altar, selected one into whose bosom he put the public seal of the commonwealth, which he had in his hand; but in his vision the next night, he saw in the bosom of Jupiter Capitolinus, the same boy, whom he ordered to be taken down, but was forbid by the God, on account of his being educated for the preservation of the commonwealth. And the next day, meeting with Augustus, whom till that hour he had not the least knowledge of, looking at him with admiration, he said he was extremely like the boy that he had dreamt of. Some give a different

ferent account of Catulus's first dream, as if Jupiter, upon several boys requesting of him that they might have a guardian, had pointed to one amongst them, to whom they were to prefer their requests; and putting his fingers to the boy's mouth to kiss, he afterwards applied them to his own. M. Cicero, as he was attending C. Cæsar to the Capitol, happened to be telling some of his friends a dream which he had had the preceding night, of a comely youth let down from heaven by a golden chain, who stood at the door of the Capitol, and had a whip delivered him by Jupiter. And immediately upon sight of Augustus, who had been sent for by his uncle Cæsar to the sacrifice, and was as yet perfectly unknown to the rest of the company, he affirmed that was the very boy he had seen in his dream. When he assumed the manly habit, his Senatorian tunic becoming loose in the seam on each side, fell at his feet. Some would have this to forebode, that the Order, of which that was a mark of distinction, would some time or other be subject to him. Julius Cæsar, in cutting down a wood to make room for his camp near Munda, happened to light upon a palm-tree, and ordered it to be preserved as an omen of victory. From the root of this tree there put out immediately a sucker, which in a few days grew to such a height as not only to equal, but overshade it, and afford room for many nests of wild pigeons which built in it, though that species of bird particularly avoids a hard and rough leaf. It is likewise reported, that Cæsar was chiefly influenced by this prodigy, to prefer his sister's grandson before all others for his successor. In his retirement at Apollonia, he went with his friend Agrippa, to wait upon Theogenes the astrologer. And Agrippa, who first desired to know his fortune, being assured that it would be almost incredibly great; he did not chuse to discover his nativity, and per-

sisted some time in the refusal, from a mixture of shame and fear, lest the prediction in respect of him should be inferior to that which had been announced to Agrippa. Being persuaded however, after much importunity, to declare it, Theogenes started up from his seat, and paid him adoration. Not long after, Augustus was so confident of the greatness of his destiny, that he published his nativity, and struck a silver coin, bearing upon it the sign of Capricorn, under the influence of which he was born.

XCV. After the death of Cæsar, upon his return from Apollonia, as he was entering the city, on a sudden, in a clear and bright sky, a circle resembling the rainbow surrounded the body of the sun; and immediately after, the tomb of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, was struck by lightning. In his first Consulship, whilst he was sitting for the observation of omens, twelve vultures presented themselves, as they had done to Romulus. And when he offered sacrifice, the livers of all the victims were folded inward in the lower part; a circumstance which was regarded by all present, who had skill in things of that nature, as an indubitable prognostic of great and wonderful fortune.

XCVI. He certainly had a pre-sentiment of the issue of all his wars. When the troops of the Triumviri were collected about Bononia, an eagle, which sat upon his tent, and was attacked by two crows, beat them both, and knocked them down to the ground, in the view of the whole army; who thence inferred that a difference would arise amongst the three colleagues, which would be attended with the like event: and it accordingly happened. At Philippi, he was assured of success by a Thesalian, upon the authority, as he pretended, of Cæsar

himself, who had appeared to him while he was travelling in a bye-road. At Perugia, the sacrifice not presenting any favorable intimations, but the contrary, he ordered an additional number of victims to be cut up; but the enemy by a sudden sally carrying all away, it was agreed amongst the augurs as an infallible event, that all the danger and misfortune which appeared in the entrails, would fall upon the heads of those who had got possession of them. And accordingly it happened so. The day before the sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leaped out of the sea, and laid itself at his foot. At Actium, while he was going down to his fleet to engage the enemy, he was met by an ass with a fellow driving it. The name of the man was Eutychus, and that of the animal, Nicon*. After the victory, he erected a brazen statue to each, in a temple built upon the ground where he had encamped.

XCVII. His death, of which I shall now speak, and his subsequent deification, were intimated by divers manifest prodigies. As he was finishing the Census amidst a great crowd of people in the Field of Mars, an eagle flew about him several times, and then directed its course to a neighbouring temple, where it sat down upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing this, he ordered Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is usual to make on such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should never accomplish, though the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first

* The good omen, in this instance, was founded upon the etymology of the names of the ass and its driver; the former of which, in Greek, signifies *victorious*, and the latter, *fortunate*.

letter of his name, in an inscription upon a statue of him, was struck out by lightning; which was interpreted as a presage that he would live only a hundred days longer: which number the letter C stands for, and that he would be placed amongst the Gods; as *Æsar*, which is the remaining part of the word *Cæsar*, signifies, in the Tuscan language, a God. Being therefore about dispatching Tiberius to Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several persons who applied to him upon account of causes they had depending, he cried out, which was afterwards regarded as an omen of his death, "Not all the business that can occur, shall detain me at Rome one moment longer;" and setting out upon his journey, he went as far as Astura; whence, contrary to his custom, he put to sea in the night-time, upon the occasion of a favorable wind.

XCVIII. His sickness was occasioned by diarrhœa; notwithstanding which, he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Capræ; where he gave himself up entirely to his ease; behaving, at the same time, to those about him with the utmost good nature and complaisance. As he happened to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria just then arrived, clad all in white, with crowns upon their heads, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamations, crying out, "By you we live, by you we sail, by you enjoy our liberty and our fortunes." At which being greatly pleased, he distributed to each of his friends that attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them an assurance by oath, not to employ the sum given them any other way, than in the purchase of Alexandrian goods. And during

several days after, he distributed Togæ and Pallia*, upon condition that the Romans should use the Grecian, and the Grecians the Roman dress and language. He likewise constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom still continued at Capreæ. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, and not only permitted, but required from them the utmost freedom in jesting, and scrambling for fruit, victuals, and other things which he threw amongst them. In a word, he indulged himself in all the ways of amusement he could contrive. He called an island near Capreæ *Ἀπράσπολις*, “the city of the *Do-littles*,” from the indolent life which several of his company led there. A favorite of his, one Masgabas, he had used to call *Κτιστής*, as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his parlour the tomb of this Masgabas, who died a year before, frequented by a great company of people with torches, he pronounced upon it this verse extempore.

Κτιστοῦ δὲ τυμβῶν εἰσορῶ πυρουμένον.

I see the founder's tomb display'd with lights.

Then turning to Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius's, that lay opposite, he asked him what poet he thought was the author of that verse: who demurring upon it, he brought out another:

Ὅρας φαεσσι Μασγάβαν τιμωμένον.

Honor'd with flambeaux Masgabas you see.

* The *Togæ* have been already described in a note upon Chapter LXXIII. The *Pallium* was a cloak, or upper garment, worn by the Greeks, men and women, freemen and servants, but almost always by philosophers, and commonly by both sexes at table.

and

and put the same question to him concerning that like-wife. The latter replying, that, whoever was the author, the verses were good, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it. Soon after, passing over to Naples, though at that time greatly disordered in his bowels, by the frequent returns of his disease, he continued a spectator to the end of some solemn games which were performed every five years in honor of him, and came with Tiberius to the place intended. But in his return, his disorder encreasing, he stopped at Nola, sent for Tiberius back again, and had a long discourse with him in private; after which he gave no farther attention to business of any importance.

XCIX. Upon the day of his death, he now and then enquired, if there was any disturbance in the town about him; and calling for a mirror, he ordered his hair to be combed, and his falling cheeks to be adjusted. Then asking his friends that were admitted into the room, "Do ye think that I have acted my part in life well?" he immediately subjoined,

Εἰ δὲ παν εχει καλως, τῷ παιγνίῳ

Δότε κροτον, και παντες ὑμεις μετα χαρας κτυπησατε.

If all be right, with joy your voices raise

In loud applauses to the actor's praise.

after which, having dismissed them all, whilst he was enquiring of some that were just come from Rome, concerning Drusus's daughter, who was in a bad state of health, he expired amidst the kisses of Livia, and with these words: "Livia, live mindful of our marriage, and farewell!" dying a very easy death, and such as he himself had always wished for. For as often as he heard that any person had died quickly and without pain, he

wished for himself and his friends the like *εὐθανασία*, (an easy death), for that was the word he made use of. He discovered but one symptom before his death of his being delirious, which was this: he was all on a sudden much frightened, and complained that he was carried away by forty men. But this was rather a presage, than any delirium: for precisely that number of soldiers carried out his corpse.

C. He expired in the same room in which his father Octavius had died, when the two Sextus's, Pompey and Apuleius, were Consuls, upon the fourteenth of the calends of September, at the ninth hour of the day, wanting only five and thirty days of seventy-six years of age. His remains were carried by the magistrates of the municipia * and colonies, from Nola to Bovillæ, and in the night-time, because of the season of the year. During the intervals, the body lay in some court, or great temple, of each town. At Bovillæ it was met by the Equestrian Order, who carried it to the city, and deposited it in the porch of his own house. The Senate proceeded with so much zeal in the arrangement of his funeral, and paying honor to his memory, that, amongst several other proposals, some were for having the funeral procession made through the triumphal gate, preceded by the image of Victory, which is in the Senate-house, and the children

* *Municipia* were foreign towns which obtained the right of Roman citizens, and were of different kinds. Some enjoyed all the rights of Roman citizens, except such as could not be held without residing at Rome. Others were invested with the right of serving in the Roman legions, but not that of voting, nor of holding civil offices. The *municipia* used their own laws and customs; nor were they obliged to receive the Roman laws unless they chose it.

of the first quality, of both sexes, singing the funeral ditty. Others moved, that on the day of the funeral, they should lay aside their gold rings, and wear rings of iron; and others, that his bones should be collected by the priests of the superior orders. One likewise proposed to transfer the name of Augustus to September, because he was born in the latter, but died in the former. Another moved, that the whole period of time, from his birth to his death, should be called the Augustan age, and be inserted in the calendar under that title. But at last it was judged proper to be moderate in the honors to be paid to his memory. Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise, one before the temple of Julius, by Tiberius; and the other before the Rostra, under the old shops, by Drusus, Tiberius's son. The body was then carried upon the shoulders of Senators into the Field of Mars, and there burnt. A man of Prætorian rank affirmed upon oath, that he saw his spirit ascend into heaven. The most distinguished persons of the Equestrian Order, bare-footed, and with their tunics loose, gathered up his relics, and deposited them in the mausoleum, which had been built in his sixth Consulship, betwixt the Flaminian way and the bank of the Tiber, at which time likewise he gave the woods and walks about it for the use of the people.

CI. He had made a will a year and four months before his death; upon the third of the Nones of April, in the Consulship of Lucius Plancus, and C. Silius. It consisted of two skins of parchment, written partly in his hand, and partly by his freedmen Polybius and Hilarion. It had been committed to the custody of the Vestal Virgins, by whom it was now produced, with three other volumes,

all sealed up as well as the will, which were every one read in the Senate. He appointed for his first heirs, Tiberius for two thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, whom he likewise desired to assume his name. The heirs substituted in their room, in case of death, were Drusus, Tiberius's son, for a third part, and Germanicus with his three sons for the rest. Next to them were his relations, and several of his friends. He left in legacies to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces; to the tribes three millions five hundred thousand; to the guards, a thousand each man; to the city-battalions five hundred; and to the soldiers in the legions three hundred each; which several sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death. For he had taken care that the money should be ready in his exchequer. For the rest he ordered different times of payment. In some of his bequests he went as far as twenty thousand sesterces, for the payment of which he allowed a twelvemonth; alledging for this procrastination the scantiness of his estate; and declaring that not more than a hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would come to his heirs: notwithstanding that during the twenty preceding years, he had received, in legacies from his friends, the sum of fourteen hundred millions; almost the whole of which, with his two paternal estates, and others that had been left him, he expended upon the public. He left order that the two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, should not be buried in his sepulchre. With regard to the three volumes before mentioned, in one of them he gave orders about his funeral; another contained a narrative of his actions, which he intended should be inscribed on brass-plates, and placed before his mausoleum; in the third he had drawn up a concise account of the state of the empire;

pire; as the number of soldiers in pay, what money there was in the treasury, exchequer, and arrears of taxes; to which were added the names of the freedmen and slaves, from whom the several accounts might be taken.

OCTAVIUS Cæsar, afterwards Augustus, had now attained to the same situation in the state which had formerly been occupied by Julius Cæsar; and though he entered upon it by violence, he continued to enjoy it through life with almost uninterrupted tranquillity. By the long duration of the late civil war, with its concomitant train of public calamities, the minds of men were become less averse to the prospect of an absolute government; at the same time that the new emperor, naturally prudent and politic, had learned from the fate of Julius the art of preserving supreme power without arrogating to himself any invidious mark of distinction. He affected to decline public honors, disclaimed every idea of personal superiority, and in all his behaviour displayed a degree of moderation which prognosticated the most happy effects, in restoring peace and prosperity to the harassed empire. The tenor of his future conduct was suitable to this auspicious commencement. While he endeavored to conciliate the affections of the people by lending money to those who stood in need of it, at low interest, or without any at all, and by the exhibition of public shows, of which the Romans were remarkably fond; he was attentive to the preservation of a becoming dignity in the government, and to the correction of morals. The Senate, which, in the time of Sylla, had
encreased

increased to upwards of four hundred, and, during the civil war, to a thousand members, by the admission of improper persons, he reduced to six hundred; and being invested with the ancient office of Cenfor, which had for some time been disused, he exercised an arbitrary but legal authority over the conduct of every rank in the state; by which he could degrade Senators and Knights, and inflict upon all citizens an ignominious sentence for any immoral or indecent behaviour. But nothing contributed more to render the new form of government acceptable to the people, than the frequent distribution of corn, and sometimes largesses, amongst the commonalty: for an occasional scarcity of provisions had always been the chief cause of discontents and tumults in the capital. To the interests of the army he likewise paid particular attention. It was by the assistance of the legions that he had risen to power; and they were the men who, in the last resort, if such an emergency should ever occur, could alone enable him to preserve it.

History relates, that after the overthrow of Antony, Augustus held a consultation with Agrippa and Mecænas about restoring the republican form of government, when Agrippa gave his opinion in favor of that measure, and Mecænas opposed it. The object of this consultation, in respect of its future consequences on society, is perhaps the most important ever agitated in any cabinet, and required, for the mature discussion of it, the whole collective wisdom of the ablest men in the empire. But this was a resource which could scarcely be adopted, either with security to the public quiet, or with unbiassed judgment in the determination of the question. The bare agitation of such a point would have excited an immediate and strong anxiety for its final result; while the
friends

friends of a republican government, who were still far more numerous than those of the other party, would have strained every nerve to procure a determination in their own favor; and the Prætorian guards, the surest protection of Augustus, finding their situation rendered precarious by such an unexpected occurrence, would have readily listened to the secret propositions and intrigues of the Republicans for securing their acquiescence to the decision on the popular side. If, when the subject came into debate, Augustus should be sincere in the declaration to abide by the resolution of the council, it is beyond all doubt, that the restoration of a republican government would have been voted by a great majority of the assembly. If, on the contrary, he should not be sincere, which is the more probable supposition, and should incur the suspicion of practising secretly with members for a decision according to his wish, he would have rendered himself obnoxious to the public odium, and given rise to discontents which might have endangered his future security.

But to submit this important question to the free and unbiaſſed decision of a numerous assembly, it is probable, neither suited the inclination of Augustus, nor perhaps, in his opinion, corresponded with his personal safety. With a view to the attainment of unconstitutional power, he had formerly deserted the cause of the Republic when its affairs were in a prosperous situation; and now when his end was accomplished, there could be little ground to expect, that he should voluntarily relinquish the prize for which he had spilt the best blood of Rome, and contended for so many years. Ever since the final defeat of Antony in the battle of Actium, he had governed the Roman state with uncontrolled authority; and though there is in
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the nature of unlimited power an intoxicating quality, injurious both to public and private virtue, yet all history contradicts the supposition of its being endued with any which is unpalatable to the general taste of mankind.

There were two chief motives by which Augustus would naturally be influenced in a deliberation on this important subject; namely, the love of power, and the personal danger which he might incur from relinquishing it. Either of these motives might have been a sufficient inducement for retaining his authority; but when they both concurred, as they seem to have done upon this occasion, their united force was irresistible. The argument, so far as relates to the love of power, rests upon a ground, concerning the solidity of which, little doubt can be entertained: but it may be proper to enquire, in a few words, into the foundation of that personal danger which he dreaded to incur, on returning to the station of a private citizen.

Augustus, as has been already observed, had formerly sided with the party which attempted to restore public liberty after the death of Julius Cæsar: but he afterwards abandoned the popular cause, and joined in the ambitious views of Antony and Lepidus to usurp amongst themselves the entire dominion of the state. By this change of conduct, he turned his arms against the supporters of a form of government which he had virtually recognized as the legal constitution of Rome; and, what involved a direct implication of treason, against the sacred representatives of that government, the Consuls, formally and duly elected. Upon such a charge he might be amenable to the capital laws of his country. This, however, was a danger which might be fully obviated, by procuring
from

from the Senate and people an act of oblivion, previously to his abdication of the supreme power ; and this was a preliminary which doubtless they would have admitted and ratified with unanimous approbation. It therefore appears that he could be exposed to no inevitable danger on this account : but there was another quarter where his person was vulnerable, and where even the laws might not be sufficient to protect him against the efforts of private resentment. The bloody proscription of the Triumvirate no act of amnesty could ever erase from the minds of those who had been deprived by it of their nearest and dearest relations ; and amidst the numerous connections of the illustrious men sacrificed on that horrible occasion, there might arise some desperate avenger, whose indelible resentment nothing less would satisfy than the blood of the surviving delinquent. Though Augustus, therefore, might not, like his great predecessor, be stabbed in the Senate-house, he might receive into his vitals the sword or poniard in a less conspicuous situation. After all, there seems to have been little danger from this quarter likewise : for Sylla, who in the preceding age had been guilty of equal enormities, was permitted, on relinquishing the place of perpetual Dictator, to end his days in quiet retirement ; and the undisturbed security which Augustus ever afterwards enjoyed, affords sufficient proof, that all apprehension of danger to his person was merely chimerical.

We have hitherto considered this grand consultation as it might be influenced by the passions or prejudices of the emperor : we shall now take a short view of the subject in the light in which it is connected with arguments of a political nature, and with public utility. The arguments
handed

handed down by history respecting this consultation are few, and imperfectly delivered; but they may be extended upon the general principles maintained on each side of the question.

For the restoration of the republican government, it might be contended, that from the expulsion of the kings to the Dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, through a period of upwards of four hundred and sixty years, the Roman state, abating a short intermission only, had flourished and encreased with a degree of prosperity unexampled in the annals of human kind: That the republican form of government was not only best adapted to the improvement of national grandeur, but to the security of general freedom, the great object of all political association: That public virtue, by which alone nations could subsist in vigor, was cherished and protected by no mode of administration so much as by that which connected, in the strongest bonds of union, the private interests of individuals with those of the community: That the habits and prejudices of the Roman people were unalterably attached to the form of government established by so long a prescription, and would never submit, for any length of time, to the rule of one person, without making every possible effort to recover their liberty: That though despotism, under a mild and wise prince, might in some respects be regarded as preferable to a constitution which was occasionally exposed to the inconvenience of faction and popular tumults, yet it was a dangerous experiment to abandon the government of the nation to the contingency of such a variety of characters as usually occurs in the succession of princes; and upon the whole, that the interests of the people were more safely entrusted in the
hands

hands of annual magistrates elected by themselves, than in those of any individual whose power was permanent, and subject to no legal control.

In favor of despotic government it might be urged, that though Rome had subsisted long and gloriously under a republican form of government, yet she had often experienced such violent shocks, from popular tumults or the factions of the great, as had threatened her with imminent destruction: That a republican government was only accommodated to a people amongst whom the division of property gave to no class of citizens such a degree of pre-eminence as might prove dangerous to public freedom: That there was required in that form of political constitution, a simplicity of life and strictness of manners which are never observed to accompany a high degree of public prosperity: That in respect of all these considerations, such a form of government was utterly incompatible with the present circumstances of the Romans: That by the conquest of so many foreign nations, by the lucrative governments of provinces, the spoils of the enemy in war, and the rapine too often practised in time of peace, so great had been the aggrandizement of particular families in the preceding age, that though the form of the ancient constitution should still remain inviolate, the people would no longer live under a free Republic, but an aristocratical usurpation, which was always productive of tyranny: That nothing could preserve the commonwealth from becoming a prey to some daring confederacy, but the firm and vigorous administration of one person, invested with the whole executive power of the state, unlimited and uncontrolled: In fine, that as Rome had been nursed to maturity by the government of six princes successively, so it was only by a similar form of political constitution

constitution that she could now be saved from aristocratical tyranny on one hand, or, on the other, from absolute anarchy.

On whichever side of the question the force of argument may be thought to preponderate, there is reason to believe that Augustus was guided in his resolution more by inclination and prejudice than by reason. It is related, however, that hesitating between the opposite opinions of his two counsellors, he had recourse to that of Virgil, who joined with Mecænas in advising him to retain the imperial power, as being the form of government most suitable to the circumstances of the times.

It is proper in this place to give some account of the two ministers abovementioned, Agrippa and Mecænas, who composed the cabinet of Augustus at the settlement of his government, and seem to be the only persons employed by him in a ministerial capacity during his whole reign.

M. Vipfanius Agrippa was of obscure extraction, but rendered himself conspicuous by his military talents. He obtained a victory of Sextus Pompey ; and in the battles of Philippi and Actium, where he displayed great valor, he contributed not a little to establish the subsequent power of Augustus. In his expeditions afterwards into Gaul and Germany, he performed many signal achievements, and for which he refused the honors of a triumph. The expences which others would have lavished on that frivolous spectacle, he applied to the more laudable purpose of embellishing Rome with magnificent buildings, one of which, the Pantheon, still remains. In consequence of a dispute with Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, he retired

tired to Mitylene, whence, after an absence of two years, he was recalled by the emperor. He first married Pomponia, the daughter of the celebrated Atticus, and afterwards one of the Marcellas, the nieces of Augustus. While this lady, by whom he had children, was still living, the emperor prevailed upon his sister Octavia to resign to him her son-in-law, and gave him in marriage his own daughter Julia ; so strong was the desire of Augustus to be united with him in the closest alliance. The high degree of favor in which he stood with the emperor was soon after evinced by a farther mark of esteem : for during a visit to the Roman provinces of Greece and Asia, in which Augustus was absent two years, he left the government of the empire to the care of Agrippa. While this minister enjoyed, and indeed seems to have merited, all the partiality of Augustus, he was likewise a favorite with the people. He died at Rome in the fifty-first year of his age, universally lamented ; and his remains were deposited in the tomb which Augustus had prepared for himself. Agrippa left by Julia three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Posthumus Agrippa, with two daughters, Agrippina and Julia.

C. Cilnius Mecænas was of Tuscan extraction, and derived his descent from the ancient kings of that country. Though in the highest degree of favor with Augustus, he never aspired beyond the rank of the Equestrian Order ; and though he might have held the government of extensive provinces by deputies, he was content with enjoying the Præfecture of the city and Italy ; a situation, however, which must have been attended with extensive patronage. He was of a gay and social disposition. In principle, he

*C. Cilnius
Mecænas.*

is said to have been of the Epicurean Sect, and in his dress and manners, to have bordered on effeminacy. With respect to his political talents, we can only speak from conjecture: but from his being the confidential minister of a prince of so much discernment as Augustus, during the infancy of a new form of government in an extensive empire, we may presume that he was endowed with no common abilities for that important station. The liberal patronage which he displayed towards men of genius and talents, will render his name for ever celebrated in the annals of learning. It is to be regretted that history has transmitted no particulars of this extraordinary personage, of whom all we know is derived chiefly from the writings of Virgil and Horace: but from the manner in which they address him, amidst the familiarity of their intercourse, there is the strongest reason to suppose, that he was not less amiable and respectable in private life, than illustrious in public situation. “O my Glory!” is the emphatic expression employed by them both.

O decus, O famæ merito pars maxima nostræ. VIR. G. II.

O et præsidium et dulce decus meum. HOR. Ode I.

One would be inclined to think, that there was a nicety in the sense and application of the word *decus*, amongst the Romans, with which we are unacquainted, and that, in the passages now adduced, it was understood to refer to the honor of the emperor's patronage, obtained through the means of Mæcenas; otherwise, such language to the minister might have excited the jealousy of Augustus. But whatever foundation there may be for this conjecture, the compliment was compensated by the superior adulation which the poets appropriated to the emperor, whose

whose deification is more than insinuated, in sublime intimations, by Virgil.

Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura deorum
 Concilia, incertum est ; urbisne invisere, Cæsar,
 Terrarumque velis curam ; & te maximus orbis
 Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem
 Accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto :
 An Deus immensi venias maris ; ac tua nautæ
 Numina sola colant : tibi serviat ultima Thule ;
 Teque sibi gênerum Tethys emat omnibus undis.

GEOR. I.

Horace has elegantly adopted the same strain of compliment.

Te multa præce, te prosequitur mero
 Defuso pateris ; & Laribus tuum
 Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris
 Et magni memor Herculis. CARM. IV. 5.

The panegyric bestowed upon Augustus by the great poets of that time, appears to have had a farther object than the mere gratification of vanity. It was the ambition of this emperor to reign in the hearts, as well as over the persons of his subjects ; and with this view he was desirous of endearing himself to their imagination. Both he and Mecænas had a delicate sensibility to the beauties of poetical composition ; and judging from their own feelings, they attached a high degree of influence to the charms of poetry. Impressed with these sentiments, it became an object of importance, in their opinion, to engage the Muses in the service of the imperial authority : on which account, we find Mecænas tampering with Propertius, and we may presume likewise with every other rising genius in poetry, to undertake a heroic poem, of which Augustus should be the hero. As

the application to Propertius cannot have taken place until after Augustus had been amply celebrated by the superior abilities of Virgil and Horace, there seems to be some reason for ascribing Mecænas's request to a political motive. Caius and Lucius, the emperor's grandsons by his daughter Julia, were still living, and both young. As one of them, doubtless, was intended to succeed to the government of the empire, prudence justified the adoption of every expedient that might tend to secure a quiet succession to the heir, upon the demise of Augustus. As a subsidiary resource, therefore, the expedient above-mentioned was judged highly plausible; and the Roman cabinet indulged the idea of endeavoring to confirm imperial authority by the support of poetical renown. Lampoons against the government were not uncommon even in the time of Augustus; and elegant panegyric on the emperor served to counteract their influence upon the minds of the people. The idea was perhaps novel in the time of Augustus; but the history of later ages affords examples of its having been adopted, under different forms of government, with success.

The Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, had attained to a prodigious magnitude; and in his testament he recommended to his successors never to exceed the limits which he had prescribed to its extent. On the East it stretched to the Euphrates; on the South to the cataracts of the Nile, the deserts of Africa, and Mount Atlas; on the West to the Atlantic Ocean; and on the North to the Danube and the Rhine; including the best part of the then known world. The Romans, therefore, were not improperly called *rerum domini**, and Rome, *pulcherrima rerum*†, *maxima rerum*‡. Even the historians

* Virgil. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Livy and Tacitus, actuated likewise with admiration, bestow magnificent epithets on the capital of their country. The succeeding emperors, in conformity to the advice of Augustus, made few additions to the empire. Trajan however subdued Mesopotamia and Armenia, east of the Euphrates, with Dacia, north of the Danube; and after this period the Roman dominion was extended over Britain, as far as the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.

It would be an object of curiosity to ascertain the amount of the Roman revenue in the reign of Augustus: but such a problem, even with respect to contemporary nations, cannot be elucidated without access to the public registers of their governments; and in regard to an ancient monarchy, the investigation is impracticable. We can only be assured that the revenue must have been immense, which arose from the accumulated contribution of such a number of nations, that had supported their own civil establishments with great splendor, and many of which were celebrated for their extraordinary riches and commerce. The tribute paid by the Romans themselves, towards the support of the government, was very considerable during the latter ages of the Republic, and it received an increase after the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. The establishments, both civil and military, in the different provinces, were supported at their own expence: the emperor required but a small naval force, which adds much to the public expenditure of maritime nations in modern times; and the state was burdened with no diplomatic charges. The vast treasure accruing from the various taxes centered in Rome, and the whole was at the disposal of the emperor, without any control. We may therefore justly conclude, that, in the amount of taxes,

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customs,

customs, and every kind of financial resources, Augustus exceeded all sovereigns who had hitherto ever swayed the sceptre of imperial dominion : a noble acquisition, had it been judiciously employed by his successors, in promoting public happiness, with half the profusion in which it was lavished in disgracing human nature, and violating the rights of mankind.

The reign of Augustus is distinguished by the most extraordinary event recorded in history either sacred or profane, the nativity of the *saviour* of mankind ; which has since introduced a new epoch into the Chronology of all Christian nations. The commencement of the new æra being the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, a general view of the state of knowledge and taste at this period, may here not be improper.

Civilization was at this time extended farther over the world than it had ever been in any preceding period : but polytheism rather encreased than diminished with the advancement of commercial intercourse between the nations of Europe, Asia and Africa ; and though philosophy had been cultivated during several ages, at Athens, Cyrene, Rome, and other seats of learning, yet the morals of mankind were little improved by the diffusion of speculative knowledge. Socrates had laid an admirable foundation for the improvement of human nature, by the exertion of reason through the whole economy of life : but succeeding enquirers, forsaking the true path of ethic investigation, deviated into specious discussions, rather ingenious than useful ; and some of them, by gratuitously adopting principles, which, so far from being supported by reason, were repugnant to its dictates, endeavored to erect upon the basis of their respective doctrines a system peculiar

peculiar to themselves. The doctrines of the Stoics and Epicureans were in fact pernicious to society ; and those of the different academies, though more intimately connected with reason than the two former, were of a nature too abstract to have any immediate or useful influence on life and manners. General discussions of Truth and Probability, with magnificent declamations on the *το καλον*, and the *summum bonum*, constituted the chief objects of attention amongst those who cultivated moral science in the shades of academical retirement. Cicero endeavored to bring back philosophy from speculation to practice, and clearly evinced the social duties to be founded in the unalterable dictates of virtue : but it was easier to demonstrate the truth of the principles which he maintained, than to enforce their observance, while the morals of mankind were little actuated by the exercise of reason alone.

The science chiefly cultivated at this period was Rhetoric, which appears to have differed considerably from what now passes under the same name. The object of it was not so much justness of sentiment and propriety of expression, as the art of declaiming, or speaking copiously upon any subject. It is mentioned by Varro as the reverse of logic ; and they are distinguished from each other by a simile, that the former resembles the palm of the hand expanded, and the latter, contracted into the fist. It is observable that logic, though a part of education in modern times, seems not to have been cultivated amongst the Romans. Perhaps they were apprehensive, lest a science which concentrated the force of argument, might obstruct the cultivation of that which was meant to dilate it. Astronomy was long before known in the eastern nations ; but there is reason to believe, from a passage in

Virgil *, that it was little cultivated by the Romans ; and it is certain, that in the reformation of the Calendar, Julius Cæsar was chiefly indebted to the scientific knowledge of Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria. The laws of the solar system were still but imperfectly known : the popular belief, that the sun moved round the earth, was universally maintained, and continued until the sixteenth century, when the contrary was proved by Copernicus. There existed many celebrated tracts on mathematics ; and several of the mechanical powers, particularly that of the lever, were cultivated with success. The more necessary and useful rules of arithmetic were generally known. The use of the load-stone not being as yet discovered, navigation was conducted in the day-time by the sun, and in the night, by the observation of certain stars. Geography was cultivated during the present period by Strabo and Mela. In natural philosophy, little progress was made ; but a strong desire of its improvement was entertained, particularly by Virgil. Human anatomy being not yet introduced, physiology was imperfect. Chemistry, as a science, was utterly unknown. In medicine, the writings of Hippocrates, and other Greek physicians, were in general the standard of practice : but the *Materia Medica* contained few remedies of approved quality, and abounded with useless substances, as well as with many which stood upon no other foundation than the whimsical notions of those who first introduced them. Architecture flourished, through the elegant taste of Vitruvius, and the patronage of the emperor. Painting, Statuary, and Music, were cultivated, but not with that degree of perfection which they had obtained in the Grecian states. The musical instruments of this period were

* GEOR. II.

the flute and the lyre, to which may be added the *sistrum*, lately imported from Egypt. But the chief glory of this period is its literature, of which we proceed to give some account.

At the head of the writers of this age, stands the emperor, himself, with his minister *Mecænas*; but the works of both have almost totally perished. It appears from the historian now translated, that Augustus was the author of several productions in prose, besides some in verse. He wrote Answers to Brutus in relation to Cato, Exhortations to Philosophy, and the History of his own Life, which he continued, in thirteen books, down to the war of Cantabria. A book of his, written in hexameter verse, under the title of Sicily, was extant in the time of Suetonius, as was likewise a book of Epigrams. He began a Tragedy on the subject of Ajax, but being dissatisfied with the composition, destroyed it. Whatever the merits of Augustus may have been as an author, of which no judgment can be formed, his attachment to learning and eminent writers affords a strong presumption that he was not destitute of taste. *Mecænas* is said to have written two tragedies, *Octavia* and *Prometheus*; a History of Animals; a treatise on Precious Stones; a Journal of the Life of Augustus; and other productions. Curiosity is strongly interested to discover the literary talents of a man so much distinguished for the esteem and patronage of them in others; but while we regret the impossibility of such a development, we scarcely can suppose the proficiency to have been small, where the love and admiration were so great.

History was cultivated amongst the Romans during the
present

present period, with uncommon success. This species of composition is calculated both for information and entertainment; but the chief design of it is to record all transactions relative to the public, for the purpose of enabling mankind to draw from past events a probable conjecture concerning the future; and, by knowing the steps which have led either to prosperity or misfortune, to ascertain the best means of promoting the former, and avoiding the latter of those objects. This useful kind of narrative was introduced about five hundred years before by Herodotus, who has thence received the appellation of the Father of History. His style, in conformity to the habits of thinking, and the simplicity of language in an uncultivated age, is plain and unadorned; yet, by the happy modulation of the Ionic dialect, it gratified the ear, and afforded to the states of Greece a pleasing mixture of entertainment, enriched not only with various information, often indeed fabulous or inauthentic, but the rudiments, indirectly interspersed, of political wisdom. This writer, after a long interval, was succeeded by Thucydides and Xenophon, the former of whom carried historical narrative to the highest degree of improvement it ever attained in the Grecian climates. The plan of Thucydides seems to have continued to be the model of historical narrative to the writers of Rome: but the circumstances of the times, aided perhaps by the splendid exertion of genius in other departments of literature, suggested a new resource, which promised not only to animate, but embellish the future productions of the historic Muse. This innovation consisted in an attempt to penetrate the human heart, and explore in its innermost recesses the sentiments and secret motives which actuate the conduct of men. By connecting moral effects
with

with their probable internal and external causes, it tended to establish a systematic consistency in the concatenation of transactions apparently anomalous, accidental, or totally independent of each other. The author of this improvement in History was Sallust, who likewise introduced the method of enlivening narrative composition, with the occasional aid of rhetorical declamation, particularly in his account of the Catilinarian Conspiracy. The notorious characters and motives of the principal persons concerned in that horrible plot, afforded the most favorable opportunity for exemplifying the former; while the latter, there is reason to infer from the facts which must have been at that time publicly known, were founded upon documents of unquestionable authority. Nay, it is probable that Sallust was present in the Senate during the debate respecting the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators; his detail of which is agreeable to the characters of the several speakers: but in detracting, by invidious silence, or too faint representation, from the merits of Cicero on that important occasion, he exhibits a glaring instance of the partiality which too often debases the narratives of those who record the transactions of their own time. He had married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero; and there subsisted between the two husbands a kind of rivalry from that cause, to which was probably added some degree of animosity, on account of their difference in politics, during the late Dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, by whom Sallust was restored to the Senate, whence he had been expelled for licentiousness, and was appointed governor of Numidia. Abstracting from the injustice of Sallust in respect of Cicero, he is entitled to high commendation. In both his remaining productions, of the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the War of Jugurtha,

there is a peculiar air of philosophical sentiment, which, joined to the elegant conciseness of style, and animated description of characters, gives to his writings a degree of interest, superior to what is excited in any preceding work of the historical kind. In the occasional use of obsolete words, and in labored exordiums to both his histories, he is liable to the charge of affectation; but it is an affectation of language which supports solemnity without exciting disgust; and of sentiment which not only exalts human nature, but animates to virtuous exertions. It seems to be the desire of Sallust to atone for the dissipation of his youth by a total change of conduct; and whoever peruses his exordiums with the attention which they deserve, must feel a strong persuasion of the justness of his remarks, if not the incentives of a resolution to be governed by his example. It seems to be certain, that from the first moment of his reformation, he incessantly practised the industry which he so warmly recommends. He composed a History of Rome, of which nothing remains but a few fragments. Sallust, during his administration of Numidia, is said to have exercised great oppression: On his return to Rome, he built a magnificent house, and bought delightful gardens, the name of which, with his own, is to this day perpetuated to the ground which they formerly occupied. Sallust was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, and received his education at Rome. He incurred great scandal by an amour with Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and wife of Milo; who detecting the criminal intercourse, is said to have beat him with stripes, and extorted from him a large sum of money. He died, according to tradition, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Cornelius

Cornelius Nepos was born at Hostilia, near the banks of the Po. Of his parentage we meet with no account ; but from his respectable connections early in life, it is probable that he was of good extraction. Among his most intimate friends were Cicero and Atticus. Some authors relate, that he composed three books of Chronicles, with a biographical account of all the most celebrated sovereigns, generals, and writers of antiquity.

*Cornelius
Nepos.*

The language of Cornelius Nepos is pure, his style perspicuous, and he holds a middle and agreeable course between diffuseness and brevity. He has not observed the same rule with respect to the treatment of every subject ; for the account of some of the lives is so short, that we might suspect them to be mutilated, did they not contain evident marks of their being completed in miniature. The great extent of his plan induced him, as he informs us, to adopt this expedient : *Sed plura persequi, tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem, quæ exorsus sum.*

Of his numerous biographical works, twenty-two lives only remain, which are all of Greeks, except two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal ; and two Romans, M. Porcius Cato and T. Pomponius Atticus. Of his own life, who had written the lives of so many, no account is transmitted ; but from the multiplicity of his productions, we may conclude that it was devoted to literature.

Titus Livius may be ranked among the most celebrated historians that the world has ever produced. He composed a history of Rome from the foundation of the city, to the conclusion of the German

Titus Livius.

German

German war conducted by Drusus, in the time of the emperor Augustus. This great work consisted originally of one hundred and forty books; of which there now remain only thirty-five, viz. the first Decade, and the whole from book twenty-one to book forty-five, both inclusive. Of the other hundred and five books, nothing more has survived the ravages of time and barbarians than their general contents. In a perspicuous arrangement of his subject, in a full and circumstantial account of transactions, in the expression of characters and other objects of description, in justness and aptitude of sentiment, and in an air of majesty pervading the whole composition, this author may be regarded as one of the best models extant of historical narrative. His style is splendid without meretricious ornament, and copious without being redundant; a fluency to which Quintilian gives the expressive appellation of *laetæ ubertas*. Amongst the beauties which we admire in his writings, besides the animated speeches frequently interspersed, are those concise and peculiarly applicable eulogiums, with which he characterises every eminent person mentioned, at the close of their life. Of his industry in collating, and his judgment in deciding upon the preference due to dissentient authorities, in matters of testimony, the work affords numberless proofs. Of the freedom and impartiality, with which he treated even of the recent periods of history, there cannot be more convincing evidence, than that he was rallied by Augustus as a favorer of Pompey; and that, under the same emperor, he not only bestowed upon Cicero the tribute of warm approbation, but dared to ascribe, in an age when their names were obnoxious, even to Brutus and Cassius the virtues of consistency and patriotism. If in any thing the conduct of Livy violates our sentiments of historical dignity, it is the apparent complacency and reverence, with which he
every

every where mentions the popular belief in omens and prodigies : but this was the general superstition of the times ; and totally to renounce the prejudices of superstitious education, is the last heroic sacrifice to philosophical scepticism. In general, however, the credulity of Livy appears to be rather affected than real ; and his account of the exit of Romulus, in the following passage, may be adduced as an instance in confirmation of this remark.

His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Capræ paludem haberet, subita coorta tempestate cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit : nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pudes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena & tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit ; etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella ; tamen veluti orbitatis metu icla, mæstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio factò, Deum Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent ; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent : manavit enim hæc quoque, & perobscura, fama. Illam alteram admiratio viri, & pavor præsens nobilitavit. Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides : namque Proculus Julius sollicita civitate desiderio regis, & infensa Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnæ rei auctor, in concionem prodit. “ Romulus, inquit, Quirites, parens urbis hujus, prima hodierna luce cælo repente delapsus, se mihi obvium dedit : quum profusus horrore venerabundusque astitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset ; Abi, nuncia, inquit, Romanis, Cælestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum

rum sit : proinde rem militarem colant : sciantque, & ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. Hæc, inquit, locutus, sublimis abiit. Mirum, quantum illi viro nuncianti hæc fidei fuerit ; quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, facta fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.

Scarcely any incident in ancient history favors more of the marvellous than the account above delivered respecting the first Roman king : and amidst all the solemnity with which it is related, we may perceive that the historian was not the dupe of credulity. There is more implied, than the author thought proper to avow, in the sentence, *Fuisse credo*, &c. In whatever light this anecdote be viewed, it is involved in perplexity. That Romulus affected a despotic power, is not only highly probable, from his aspiring disposition, but seems to be confirmed by his recent appointment of the *Celeres*, as a guard to his person. He might therefore naturally incur the odium of the Patricians, whose importance was diminished, and their institution rendered abortive, by the encrease of his power. But that they should choose the opportunity of a military review, for the purpose of removing the tyrant by a violent death, seems not very consistent with the dictates even of common prudence ; and it is the more incredible, as the circumstance which favored the execution of the plot, is represented to have been entirely a fortuitous occurrence. The tempest which is said to have happened, is not easily reconcilable with our knowledge of that phenomenon. Such a cloud, or mist, as could have enveloped Romulus from the eyes of the assembly, is not a natural concomitant of a thunder-storm. There is some reason to suspect, that both the noise and cloud, if they actually existed, were artificial ; the former intended

to divert the attention of the spectators, and the latter to conceal the transaction. The word *frāgor*, a noise or crash, appears to be an unnecessary addition where thunder is expressed, though sometimes so used by the poets; and may therefore, perhaps, imply such a noise from some other cause. If Romulus was killed by any pointed or sharp-edged weapon, his blood might have been discovered on the spot; or if by other means, still the body was equally an object of public ascertainment. If the people suspected the Patricians to be guilty of murder, why did they not endeavor to trace the fact by this evidence? and if the Patricians were really innocent, why did they not urge the examination? But the body, without doubt, was secreted to favor the imposture. The whole narrative is strongly marked with circumstances calculated to affect credulity with ideas of national importance; and to countenance the design, there is evidently a chasm in the Roman history immediately preceding this transaction, and intimately connected with it.

Livy was born at Patavium, and has been charged by Asinius Pollio and others with the provincial dialect of his country. The objections to his Patavinity, as it is called, relate chiefly to the spelling of some words; in which, however, there seems to be nothing so peculiar, as either to occasion any obscurity or merit reprehension.

Livy and Sallust being the only two existing rivals in Roman history, it may not be improper to draw a short comparison between them, in respect of their principal qualities, as writers. With regard to language, there is less apparent affectation in Livy than in Sallust. The narrative of both is distinguished by an elevation of style: the elevation of Sallust seems to be often supported by the

dignity of assumed virtue; that of Livy by a majestic air of historical, and sometimes of national importance. In the drawing of characters, Sallust infuses more expression, and Livy more fulness into the features. In the speeches ascribed to particular persons, these writers are equally elegant and animated.

So great was the fame of Livy in his own life-time, that people came from the extremity of Spain and Gaul, for the purpose only of beholding so celebrated a historian, who was regarded, for his abilities, as a prodigy. This affords a strong proof, not only of the literary taste which then prevailed over the most extensive of the Roman provinces, but of the extraordinary pains with which so great a work must have been propagated, when the art of printing was unknown. In the fifteenth century, upon the revival of learning in Europe, the name of this great writer recovered its ancient veneration; and Alphonfus of Arragon, with a superstition characteristic of that age, requested of the people of Padua, where Livy was born, and is said to have been buried, to be favored by them with the hand which had written so admirable a work.

The celebrity of Virgil has proved the means of ascertaining his birth with more exactness than is common in the biographical memoirs of ancient writers. He was born at Andes, a village in the neighbourhood of Mantua, on the 15th of October, seventy years before the Christian æra. His parents were of moderate condition; but by their industry they acquired some territorial possessions, which devolved to their son. The first seven years of his life were spent at Cremona, whence he went to Mediolanum, now Milan, at that time the seat of the liberal arts, and
denominated,

*P. Virgilius
Maro.*

denominated, as we learn from Pliny the younger, *Novæ Athenæ*. From this place, he afterwards moved to Naples, where he applied himself with great assiduity to Greek and Roman literature, particularly to the physical and mathematical sciences; for which he expresses a strong predilection in the second book of his *Georgics*:

*Me verò primum dulcēs ante omnia Musæ,
Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amorē,
Accipiant; cœlique vias et sidera monstrent;
Defectus Solis varios, Lunæque labores:
Unde tremor terris: qua vi maria alta tumescant
Obicibus ruptis, rursusque in seipsa residant:
Quid tantum Oceano præperent se tingere soles
Hiberni: vel quæ tardis mora noctibus obstet.*

When by a proscription of the Triumvirate, the lands of Cremona and Mantua were distributed amongst the veteran soldiers, Virgil had the good fortune to recover his possessions, through the favor of Asinius Pollio, the deputy of Augustus in those parts; to whom, as well as to the emperor, he has testified his gratitude in beautiful eclogues.

The first production of Virgil was his *Bucolics*, consisting of ten eclogues, written in imitation of the *Idyllia* or pastoral poems of Theocritus. It may be questioned, whether any language which has its provincial dialects, but is brought to perfection, can ever be well adapted, in that state, to the use of pastoral poetry. There is such an apparent incongruity between the simple ideas of the rural swain and the polished language of the courtier, that it seems impossible to reconcile them together by the utmost art of composition. The Doric dialect of Theocritus, therefore, abstractedly from all consideration of simplicity of sentiment, must ever give to the Sicilian

bard a pre-eminence in this species of poetry. The greater part of the *Bucolics* of Virgil may be regarded as poems of a peculiar nature, into which the author has happily transfused, in elegant versification, the native manners and ideas, without any mixture of the rusticity of pastoral life. With respect to the fourth eclogue, addressed to Pollio, it is avowedly of a nature superior to that of pastoral subjects:

Sicelides Musæ, paullo majora canamus.

Virgil engaged in bucolic poetry at the request of Asinius Pollio, whom he highly esteemed, and for one of whose sons in particular, with Cornelius Gallus, a poet likewise, he entertained the warmest affection. He has celebrated them all in these poems, which were begun, we are told, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and completed in three years. They were held in so great esteem amongst the Romans, immediately after their publication, that it is said they were frequently recited upon the stage, for the entertainment of the audience. Cicero, upon hearing some lines of them, perceived that they were written in no common strain of poetry, and desired that the whole eclogue might be recited: which being done, he exclaimed, "*Magnæ spes altera Romæ.*" Another hope of great Rome *!

Virgil's

* Commentators seem to have given an erroneous and unbecoming sense to Cicero's exclamation, when they suppose that the object understood, as connected with *altera*, related to himself. Hope is never applied in this signification, but to a young person, of whom something good or great is expected; and accordingly Virgil, who adopted the expression, has very properly applied it to Ascanius:

Et juxta Ascanius, magnæ spes altera Romæ. *ÆNEID. XII.*

Cicero,

Virgil's next work was the Georgics, the idea of which is taken from the *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, the Works and Days; of Hesiod, the poet of Ascra. But between the productions of the two poets, there is no other similarity than that of their common subject. The precepts of Hesiod, in respect of agriculture, are delivered with all the simplicity of an unlettered cultivator of the fields, intermixed with plain moral reflexions, natural and apposite; while those of Virgil, equally precise and important, are embellished with all the dignity of sublime versification. The work is addressed to Mecænas, at whose request it appears to have been undertaken. It is divided into four books. The first treats of ploughing; the second, of planting; the third, of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, dogs, and of things that are hurtful to cattle; the fourth is employed on bees, their proper habitations, food, polity, the diseases to which they are liable, and the remedies of them, with the method of making honey, and a variety of other considerations connected with the subject. The Georgics were written at Naples, and employed the author during a period of seven years. It is said that Virgil had concluded the Georgics with a labored eulogium on his poetical friend Gallus; but the latter incurring about this time the displeasure of Augustus, he was induced to

Cicero, at the time when he could have heard a specimen of Virgil's Eclogues, must have been near his grand climacteric; besides that his virtues and talents had long been conspicuous, and were past the state of hope. It is probable, therefore, that *altera* referred to some third person, spoken of immediately before, as one who promised to do honor to his country. It might refer to Octavius, of whom Cicero, at this time, entertained a high opinion; or it may have been spoken in an absolute manner, without a reference to any person.

cancel it, and substitute the beautiful episode of Aristæus and Eurydice.

These beautiful poems, considered merely as didactic, have the justest claim to utility. In what relates to agriculture in particular, the precepts were judiciously adapted to the climate of Italy, and must have conveyed much valuable information to those who were desirous of cultivating that important art, which was held in great honor amongst the Romans. The same remark may be made, with greater latitude of application, in respect of the other subjects. But when we examine the Georgics as poetical compositions, when we attend to the elevated style in which they are written, the beauty of the similes, the emphatic sentiments interspersed, the elegance of diction, the animated strain of the whole, and the harmony of the versification; our admiration is excited, to behold subjects so common in their nature, embellished with the most magnificent decorations of poetry.

During four days which Augustus passed at Atella, to refresh himself from fatigue in his return to Rome, after the battle of Actium, the Georgics, just then finished, were read to him by the author, who was occasionally relieved in the task by his friend Mecænas. We may easily conceive the satisfaction enjoyed by the emperor, to find that while he himself had been gathering laurels in the achievements of war, another glorious wreath was prepared by the Muses to adorn his temples; and that an intimation was given of his being afterwards celebrated in a work more congenial to the subject of heroic renown.

It is generally supposed that the *Æneid* was written at the particular desire of Augustus, who was ambitious of
having

having the Julian family represented as lineal descendants of the Trojan Æneas. In this celebrated poem, Virgil has happily united the characteristics of the Iliad and Odyssey, and blended them so judiciously together, that they mutually contribute to the general effect of the whole. By the esteem and sympathy excited for the filial piety and misfortunes of Æneas at the catastrophe of Troy, the reader is strongly interested in his subsequent adventures; and every obstacle to the establishment of the Trojans in the promised land of Hesperia, produces fresh sensations of increased admiration and attachment. The episodes, characters, and incidents, all concur to give beauty or grandeur to the poem. The picture of Troy in flames can never be sufficiently admired. The incomparable portrait of Priam, in Homer, is admirably accommodated to a different situation, with the addition of Anchises, in the Æneid. The prophetic rage of the Cumæan Sibyl displays in the strongest colors the enthusiasm of the poet. For sentiment, passion, and interesting description, the episode of Dido is a master-piece in poetry. But Virgil is not more conspicuous for strength of description than propriety of sentiment; and wherever he takes a hint from the Grecian bard, he prosecutes the idea with a judgment peculiar to himself. It may be sufficient to mention one instance. In the sixth book of the Iliad, while the Greeks are making great slaughter amongst the Trojans, Hector, by the advice of Helenus, retires into the city, to desire that his mother would offer up prayers to the Goddess Pallas, and vow to her a noble sacrifice, if she would drive Diomed from the walls of Troy. Immediately before his return to the field of battle, he has his last interview with Andromache, whom he meets with his infant son Astyanax, who is carried by a nurse. There occurs, upon this occasion, one of the

most beautiful scenes in the Iliad, where Hector dandles the boy in his arms, and pours forth a prayer, that he may one day be superior in fame to his father. In the same manner Æneas, having armed himself for the decisive combat with Turnus, addresses his son Ascanius in a beautiful speech, which, while expressive of the strongest paternal affection, contains, instead of a prayer, a noble and emphatic admonition, suitable to a youth who had nearly attained the period of adult age. It is as follows :

*Disce, puer, virtutem ex me; verumque laborem;
Fortunam ex aliis; nunc te mea dextera bello
Defensum dabit, & magna inter præmia ducet.
Tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit ætas,
Sis memor: & te animo repetentem exempla tuorum,
Et pater Æneas, & avunculus excitet Hector.*

ÆNEID. XII,

Virgil, though born to shine by his own intrinsic powers, certainly owed much of his excellence to the wonderful merits of Homer. His susceptible imagination, vivid and correct, was impregnated by the Odyssey, and warmed with the fire of the Iliad. Rivalling, or rather on some occasions surpassing his glorious predecessor in the characters of Heroes and of Gods, he sustains their dignity with so uniform a lustre, that they seem indeed more than mortal.

Whether the Iliad or the Æneid be the more perfect composition, is a question which has often been agitated, but perhaps will never be determined to general satisfaction. In comparing the genius of the two poets, however, allowance ought to be made for the difference of circumstances in which they composed their respective works.

Homer

Homer wrote in an age when mankind had not as yet made any great progress in the exertions either of intellect or imagination, and he was therefore indebted for his resources to the vast capacity of his own mind. To this we must add, that he executed both his poems in a situation of life extremely unfavorable to the cultivation of poetry. Virgil, on the contrary, lived in a period when literature had attained to a high state of improvement. He had likewise not only the advantage of finding a model in the works of Homer, but of perusing the laws of epic poetry, which had been digested by Aristotle, and the various observations made on the writings of the Greek bard by critics of acuteness and taste; amongst the chief of whom was his friend Horace, who remarks that

———— *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

DE ARTE POET.

Virgil, besides, composed his poem in a state remote from indigence; where he was roused to exertion by the example of several contemporary poets; and, what must have animated him beyond every other consideration, he wrote both at the desire, and under the patronage, of the emperor and his minister Mæcenas. In what time Homer composed either of his poems, we know not; but the *Æneid*, we are informed, was the employment of Virgil during eleven years. For some years, the repeated entreaties of Augustus could not extort from him the smallest specimen of the work; but at length, when considerably advanced in it, he condescended to recite three books, the second, the fourth, and the sixth, in the presence of the emperor and his sister Octavia; to gratify the latter of whom in particular, the recital of the last book now mentioned was intended. When the poet came to these words, *Tu Mar-*
cellus

cellus eris, alluding to Octavia's son, a youth of great hopes, who had lately died, the mother fainted. After she had recovered from this fit by the assiduity of the attendants, she ordered ten sesteria to be given to Virgil for every line relating to that subject; a gratuity which amounted to about two thousand pounds sterling.

In the composition of the *Æneid*, Virgil scrupled not to introduce whole lines of Homer, and of the Latin poet Ennius, many of whose sentences he admired. In a few instances he has borrowed from Lucretius. He is said to have been at extraordinary pains in polishing his numbers; and when he was doubtful of any passage, he would read it to some of his friends that he might have their opinion. On such occasions, it was usual with him to consult in particular his freedman and librarian Erotes, an old domestic, who, it is related, supplied extempore a deficiency in two lines, and was desired by his master to write them in the manuscript.

When this immortal work was completed, Virgil resolved on retiring into Greece and Asia for three years, that he might devote himself entirely to the polishing of it, and have leisure afterwards to pass the remainder of his life in the cultivation of philosophy. But meeting at Athens with Augustus, who was on his return from the East, he determined on accompanying the emperor back to Rome. Upon a visit to Megara, a town in the neighbourhood of Athens, he was seized with a languor, which increased during the ensuing voyage; and in a few days after landing at Brundisium he expired, on the 22d of September, in the fifty-second year of his age. He desired that his body might be carried to Naples, where he had passed many happy years; and that the following distich, written

ten in his last sickness, should be inscribed upon his tomb :

*Mantua me genuit : Calabri rapuere ; tenet nunc
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

He was accordingly interred, by the order of Augustus, with great funeral pomp, within two miles of Naples, near the road to Puteoli, where his tomb still exists. Of his estate, which was very considerable by the liberality of his friends, he left the greater part to Valerius Proculus and his brother, a fourth to Augustus, a twelfth to Mæcenas, besides legacies to L. Varius, and Plotius Tucca, who, in consequence of his own request, and the command of Augustus, revised and corrected the *Æneid* after his death. Their instructions from the emperor were, to expunge whatever they thought improper, but upon no account to make any addition. This restriction is supposed to be the cause that so many lines in the *Æneid* are imperfect.

Virgil was of large stature, had a dark complexion, and his features are said to have been such as expressed no uncommon abilities. He was subject to complaints of the stomach and throat, as well as a head-ach, and had frequent discharges of blood upwards ; but from what part, we are not informed. He was very temperate both in food and wine. His modesty was so great, that at Naples they commonly gave him the name of Parthenias, “ the modest man.” In respect of his modesty, the following anecdote is related.

Having written a distich, in which he compared Augustus to Jupiter, he placed it in the night-time over the gate of the emperor’s palace. It was in these words :

Nocte

Nocte pluit totâ, redeunt spectacula mane :

Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.

By the order of Augustus, an enquiry was made after the author ; and Virgil not declaring himself, the verses were claimed by Bathyllus, a contemptible poet, but who was liberally rewarded on this occasion. Virgil, provoked at the falsehood of the impostor, again wrote the verses on some conspicuous part of the palace, and under them the following line :

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores ;

with the beginning of another line in these words :

Sic vos non vobis,

repeated four times. Augustus expressing a desire that the lines should be finished, and Bathyllus proving unequal to the task, Virgil at last filled up the blanks in this manner :

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis, aves.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes.

Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra, boves.

The expedient immediately evinced him to be the author of the distich, and Bathyllus became the theme of public ridicule.

When at any time Virgil came to Rome, if the people, as was commonly the case, crowded to gaze upon him, or pointed at him with the finger, in admiration, he blushed, and stole away from them ; frequently taking refuge in some shop. When he went to the theatre, the audience universally rose up at his entrance, as they did to Augustus, and received him with the loudest plaudits ;

dits; a compliment which, however highly honorable, he would gladly have declined. When such was the just respect which they paid to the author of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, how would they have expressed their esteem, had they beheld him in the effulgence of epic renown! In the beautiful episode of the Elysian fields, in the *Æneid*, where he dextrously introduced a glorious display of their country, he had touched the most elastic springs of Roman enthusiasm. The passion would have rebounded upon himself, and they would, in the heat of admiration, have idolized him.

Horace was born at Venusia, on the 10th of December, in the Consulship of L. Cotta, and L. Torquatus. According to his acknowledgment, his father was a freedman; by some it is said, a collector of the revenue, and by others, that he was a fishmonger, or dealt in salted meat. Whatever he was, he paid particular attention to the education of his son, whom, after receiving instruction from the best masters in Rome, he sent to Athens to study philosophy. From this place, Horace followed Brutus, in the quality of a military Tribune, to the battle of Philippi, where, by his own confession, being seized with timidity, he abandoned the profession of a soldier, and returning to Rome, applied himself to the cultivation of poetry. In a short time he procured the friendship of Virgil and Varius, whom he mentions in his *Satires*, in terms of the most tender affection.

Q. Horatius
Flaccus.

*Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius & Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque,
Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctor alter.
O qui complexus, & gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.* SAT. I. 5.

By

By the two friends abovementioned, he was recommended to the patronage not only of Mecænas, but Augustus, with whom he, as well as Virgil, lived on a footing of the greatest intimacy. Satisfied with the luxury which he enjoyed at the first tables in Rome, he was so unambitious of any public employment, that when the emperor offered him the place of his secretary, he declined it. But as he lived in an elegant manner, having, besides his house in town, a cottage on his Sabine farm, and a villa at Tibur, near the cataract of the Anio, he enjoyed, beyond all doubt, a handsome establishment, from the liberality of Augustus. He indulged himself in indolence and social pleasure, but was at the same time much devoted to reading. He enjoyed a tolerable good state of health, but was often incommoded with a fluxion of rheum upon the eyes.

Horace, in the ardor of youth, and when his bosom beat high with the raptures of fancy, had, in the pursuit of Grecian literature, drunk largely, at the source, of the delicious springs of Castalia; and it seems to have been ever after his chief ambition, to transplant into the plains of Latium the palm of lyric poetry. Nor did he fail of success:

Exegi monumentum ære perennius. CARM. III. 30.

In Greece, and other countries, the Ode appears to have been the most ancient, as well as the most popular species of literary production. Warm in expression, and short in extent, it concentrates in narrow bounds the fire of poetical transport: on which account, it has been generally employed to celebrate the fervors of piety, the raptures of love, the enthusiasm of praise; and to animate warriors to glorious exertions of valor:

*Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
Et pugilem victorem, & equum certamine primum,
Et juvenum curas, & libera vina referre.*

HOR. DE ARTE POET.

*Misenum Æoliden, quo non præstantior alter
Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu*.*

VIRGIL. ÆNEID. VI.

* * * * *

*Sed tum forte cavâ dum personat æquora conchâ
Demens, & cantu vocat in certamina Divos. Ibid.*

There arose in this department, amongst the Greeks, nine eminent poets, viz. Alcæus, Alcman, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibicus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar. The greater part of this distinguished class are now known only by name. They seem all to have differed from one another, no less in the kind of measure which they chiefly or solely employed, than in the strength or softness, the beauty or grandeur, the animated rapidity or the graceful ease of their various compositions. Of the amorous effusions of the lyre, we yet have examples in the odes of Anacreon, and the incomparable ode of Sappho: the lyric strains which animated to battle, have sunk into oblivion; but the victors in the public games of Greece have their fame perpetuated in the admirable productions of Pindar.

Horace, by adopting, in the multiplicity of his subjects, almost all the various measures of the different Greek poets, and frequently combining different measures in the same composition, has compensated the dialects of that tongue, so happily suited to poetry, and given to a

* The last members of these two lines, from the commas to the end, are what are said to have been supplied by Erotes, Virgil's librarian.

language less distinguished for soft inflexions, all the tender and delicate modulations of the Eastern song. While he moves in the measures of the Greeks with an ease and gracefulness that rivals their own acknowledged excellence, he has enriched the fund of lyric harmony with a stanza peculiar to himself. In the artificial construction of the Ode, he may justly be regarded as the first of lyric poets. In beautiful imagery, he is inferior to none : in variety of sentiment and felicity of expression, superior to every existing competitor in Greek or Roman poetry. He is elegant without affectation ; and, what is more than all remarkable, in the midst of gaiety he is moral. We seldom meet in his Odes with the abrupt apostrophes of passionate excursion ; but his transitions are conducted with ease, and every subject introduced with propriety.

The *Carmen Seculare* was written at the express desire of Augustus, for the celebration of the Secular Games, performed once in a hundred years, and which continued during three days and three nights, whilst all Rome resounded with the mingled effusions of choral addresses to Gods and Goddesses, and of festive joy. An occasion which so much interested the ambition of the poet, called into exertion the most vigorous efforts of his genius. More concise in mythological attributes than the hymns ascribed to Homer, this beautiful production, in variety and grandeur of invocation, and in pomp of numbers, surpasses all that Greece, melodious but simple in the service of the altar, ever poured forth from her vocal groves in solemn adoration. By the force of native genius, the ancients elevated their heroes to a pitch of sublimity that excites admiration, but to soar beyond which they could derive no aid from mythology ; and it was re-

served for a bard, inspired with nobler sentiments than the Muses could supply, to sing the praises of that Being whose ineffable perfections transcend all human imagination. Of the praises of Gods and Heroes, there is not now extant a more beautiful composition, than the 12th Ode of the first book of Horace :

*Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ vel acri
Tibiâ sùmes celebrare, Clio?
Quem Deum? cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago,
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris, &c.*

The Satires of Horace are far from being remarkable for poetical harmony, as he himself acknowledges. Indeed, according to the plan upon which several of them are written, it could scarcely be otherwise. They are frequently colloquial, sometimes interrogatory, the transitions quick, and the apostrophes abrupt. It was not his object in those compositions, to sooth the ear with the melody of polished numbers, but to rally the frailties of the heart, to convince the understanding by argument, and thence to put to shame both the vices and follies of mankind. Satire is a species of composition, of which the Greeks furnished no model, and the preceding Roman writers of this class, though they had much improved it from its original rudeness and licentiousness, had still not brought it to that degree of perfection which might answer the purpose of moral reform in a polished state of society. It received the most essential improvement from Horace, who has dextrously combined wit and argument, raillery and sarcasm, on the side of morality and virtue, of happiness and truth.

The Epistles of this author may be reckoned amongst the most valuable productions of antiquity. Except

those of the second book, and one or two in the first, they are in general of the familiar kind ; abounding in moral sentiments, and judicious observations on life and manners.

The poem *De Arte Poëticâ* comprises a system of criticism, in justness of principle and extent of application, correspondent to the various exertions of genius on subjects of invention and taste. That in composing this excellent production, he availed himself of the most approved works of Grecian original, we may conclude from the advice which he there recommends :

*Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manû, versate diurnâ.*

In the writings of Horace there appears a fund of good sense, enlivened with pleasantry, and refined by philosophical reflexion. He had cultivated his judgment with great application, and his taste was guided by an intuitive perception of moral beauty, aptitude, and propriety. The few instances of indelicacy which occur in his compositions, we may ascribe rather to the manners of the times, than to any blameable propensity in the author. Horace died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, surviving his beloved Mecænas only three weeks ; a circumstance which, added to the declaration in an ode * to that personage, supposed to have been written in Mecænas's last illness, has given rise to a conjecture, that Horace ended his days by a violent death, to accompany his friend. But it is more natural to conclude that he died of excessive grief, as, had he literally adhered to the affirmation contained in the ode, he would have followed his patron more closely. This seems to be confirmed by a fact immediately preceding his death : for though he declared

* CARM. I. 17.

Augustus heir to his whole estate, he was not able, on account of weakness, to put his signature to the will; a failure, which it is probable that he would have taken care to obviate, had his death been premeditated. He was interred, at his own desire, near the tomb of Mæcenas.

Ovid was born of an Equestrian family, at Sulmo, a town of the Peligni, on the 21st of March, in the Consulship of Hirtius and Panfa. His father intended him for the bar; and after passing through the usual course of instruction at Rome, he was sent to Athens, the emporium of learning, to complete his education. On his return to Rome, in obedience to the desire of his father, he entered upon the offices of public life in the Forum, and declaimed with great applause. But this was the effect of paternal authority, not of choice: for, from his earliest years, he discovered an extreme attachment to poetry; and no sooner was his father dead, than, renouncing the bar, he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of that fascinating art, his propensity to which was invincible. His productions, all written either in heroic or pentameter verse, are numerous, and on various subjects. It will be sufficient to mention them briefly.

*P. Ovidius
Naso.*

The *Heroides* consist of twenty-one *Epistles*, all which, except three, are written from celebrated women of antiquity, to their husbands or lovers: such as Penelope to Ulysses, Dido to Æneas, Sappho to Phaon, &c. These compositions are nervous, animated and elegant: they discover a high degree of poetic enthusiasm, but blended with that lascivious turn of thought, which per-

vades all the amorous productions of this celebrated author.

The elegies on subjects of love, particularly the *Ars Amandi*, or *Ars Amatoria*, though not all uniform in versification, possess the same general character, of warmth of passion, and luscious description, with the Epistles now mentioned.

The *Fæsti* were divided into twelve books, of which only the first six now remain. The design of them was to deliver an account of the Roman festivals in every month of the year, with a description of the rites and ceremonies, as well as the sacrifices on those occasions. It is to be regretted, that, on a subject so interesting to curiosity, this valuable work should not have been transmitted entire, for the information of succeeding times: but in the part which remains, we are furnished with a beautiful description of the ceremonial transactions in the Roman Calendar, from the first of January to the end of June. The versification, as in all the compositions of this author, is easy and harmonious.

The most popular production of this poet is his *Metamorphoses*, not less extraordinary for the nature of the subject, than for the admirable art with which the whole is conducted. The work is founded upon the traditions and theogony of the ancients, which consisted of various detached fables. Those Ovid has not only so happily arranged, that they form a coherent series of narratives, one rising out of another; but he describes the different changes with such an imposing plausibility, as to give a natural appearance to the most incredible fictions.

This

This ingenious production, however perfect it may appear, we are told by himself, had not received his last corrections when he was ordered into banishment.

In the *Ibis*, the author imitates a poem of the same name, written by Callimachus. It is an invective against some person who publicly traduced his character at Rome, after his banishment. A strong sensibility, indignation, and implacable resentment, are conspicuous through the whole.

The *Tristia* were composed in his exile, in which, though his vivacity forsook him, he still retained a genius prolific in versification. In these poems, as well as in many epistles to different persons, he bewails his unhappy situation, and deprecates in the strongest terms the inexorable displeasure of Augustus.

Several other productions written by Ovid are now lost, and amongst them a tragedy called *Medea*, of which Quintilian expresses a high opinion. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere maluisset.* Lib. x. c. 1.

It is a peculiarity in the productions of this author, that, on whatever he employs his pen, he exhausts the subject; not with any prolixity that fatigues the attention, but by a quick succession of new ideas, equally brilliant and apposite, often expressed in antitheses. Void of obscenity in expression, but lascivious in sentiment, he may be said rather to stimulate immorally the natural passions, than to corrupt the imagination. No poet is more guided in versification by the nature of his subject than Ovid. In common narrative, his ideas are expressed with almost

colloquial simplicity ; but when his fancy glows with sentiment, or is animated by objects of grandeur, his style is proportionably elevated, and he rises to a pitch of sublimity.

No point in ancient history has excited such variety of conjectures as the banishment of Ovid ; and after all the efforts of different writers to elucidate the subject, the cause of this extraordinary transaction remains hitherto involved in obscurity. It may therefore not be improper, in this place, to examine the foundation of the several conjectures which have been formed, and if they appear to be utterly inadmissible, to attempt a solution of the question upon principles more conformable to probability, and countenanced by historical evidence.

The ostensible reason assigned by Augustus for banishing Ovid, was his corrupting the Roman youth by lascivious publications ; but it is evident, from various passages in the poet's productions after this period, that there was, besides, some secret reason, which would not admit of being divulged. He says in his *Tristia*, Lib. II. 1.

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen & error.

It appears from another passage in the same work, that this inviolable *arcanum* was something which Ovid had seen, and, as he insinuates, through his own ignorance and mistake.

Cur aliquid vidi ? cur conscia lumina feci ?

Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi est ? Ibid.

* * * * *

Inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector :

Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.

DE TRIST. III. 5.

It

It seems therefore to be a fact sufficiently established, that Ovid had seen something of a very indecent nature, in which Augustus was concerned. What this was, is the question. Some authors, conceiving it to have been of a kind extremely atrocious, have gone so far as to suppose, that it must have been an act of criminality between Augustus and his own daughter Julia, who, notwithstanding the strict attention paid to her education by her father, became a woman of the most infamous character; suspected of incontinence during her marriage with Agrippa, but openly profligate after her union with her next husband Tiberius. This supposition, however, rests entirely upon conjecture, and is not only discredited by its own improbability, but by a yet more forcible argument. It is certain that Julia was at this time in banishment for her scandalous life. She was about the same age with Tiberius, who was now forty-seven, and they had not cohabited for many years. We know not exactly the year in which Augustus sent her into exile, but we may conclude with confidence, that it happened soon after her separation from Tiberius; whose own interest with the emperor, as well as that of his mother Livia, could not fail of being exerted, if any such application was necessary, towards removing from the capital a woman, who by the notoriety of her prostitution reflected disgrace upon all with whom she was connected, either by blood or alliance. But no application from Tiberius or his mother could be necessary, when we are assured that Augustus even presented to the Senate a narrative respecting the infamous behaviour of his daughter, which was read by the Quæstor. He was so much ashamed of her profligacy, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death. She was banished to an island on the coast of Campania for five

years; at the expiration of which period, she was removed to the continent, and the severity of her treatment a little mitigated; but though frequent applications were made in her behalf by the people, Augustus never could be prevailed upon to permit her return.

Other writers have conjectured, that, instead of Julia the daughter of Augustus, the person seen with him by Ovid may have been Julia his grand-daughter, who inherited the vicious disposition of her mother, and was on that account likewise banished by Augustus. The epoch of this lady's banishment it is impossible to ascertain; and therefore no argument can be drawn from that source to invalidate the present conjecture. But Augustus had shewn the same solicitude for her being trained up in virtuous habits, as he had done in respect of her mother, though in both cases unsuccessfully; and this consideration, joined to the enormity of the supposed crime, and the great sensibility which Augustus had discovered with regard to the infamy of his daughter, seems sufficient to exonerate his memory from so odious a charge. Besides, is it possible that he could have sent her into banishment for the infamy of her prostitution, while (upon the supposition of incest) she was mistress of so important a secret, as that he himself had been more criminal with her than any other man in the empire?

Some writers, giving a wider scope to conjecture, have supposed the transaction to be of a nature still more detestable, and have even dragged Mecænas the minister into a participation of the crime. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of this illustrious patron of polite learning, as well as for that of the emperor, this crude conjecture may be refuted upon the evidence of chronology. The
commence-

commencement of Ovid's exile happened in the ninth year of the Christian æra, and the death of Mecænas, eight years before that period. Between this and other calculations, we find a difference of three or four years; but allowing the utmost latitude of variation, there intervened, from the death of Mecænas to the banishment of Ovid, a period of eleven years; an observation which fully invalidates the conjecture abovementioned.

Having now refuted, as it is presumed, the opinions of different commentators on this subject, we shall proceed to offer a new conjecture, which seems to have a greater claim to probability, than any that has hitherto been suggested.

Suetonius informs us, that Augustus, in the latter part of his life, contracted a vicious inclination for the enjoyment of young virgins, who were procured for him from all parts, not only with the connivance, but by the clandestine management of his consort Livia. It has therefore probably been with one of those victims that he was discovered by Ovid. Augustus had for many years affected a decency of behaviour, and he would therefore naturally be not a little disconcerted at the unseasonable intrusion of the poet. That Ovid knew not of Augustus's being in the place, is beyond all doubt: and Augustus's consciousness of this circumstance, together with the character of Ovid, would suggest an unfavorable suspicion of the motive which had brought the latter thither. Abstracting from the immorality of the emperor's own conduct, the incident might be regarded as ludicrous, and certainly was more fit to excite the shame than the indignation of the emperor. But the purpose of Ovid's visit appears, from his own acknowledgement, to have been

been not entirely free from blame, though of what nature we know not :

*Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam :
Sed partem nostri criminis error habet.*

DE TRIST. LIB. III. ELEG. 5.

Ovid was at this time turned of fifty, and though by a much younger man he would not have been regarded as any object of jealousy in love, yet by Augustus, now in his sixty-ninth year, he might be deemed a formidable rival. This passion therefore concurring with that which arose from the interruption or disappointment of gratification, inflamed the emperor's resentment, and he resolved on banishing to a distant country a man whom he considered as his rival, and whose presence, from what had happened, he never more could endure.

Augustus having determined on the banishment of Ovid, could find little difficulty in accommodating the ostensible to the secret and real cause of this resolution,

No argument to establish the date of publication, can be drawn from the order in which the various productions of Ovid are placed in the collection of his works : but reasoning from probability, we should suppose that the *Ars Amandi* was written during the period of his youth ; and this seems to be confirmed by the following passage in the second book of the *Fasti* :

*Certe ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros ;
Cum luset numeris prima juventa suis.*

That many years must have elapsed since its original publication, is evident from the subsequent lines in the second book of the *Tristia* :

Nos quoque jam pridem scripto peccavimus uno.

Supplicium patitur non nova culpa novum.

Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem

Præterii toties jure quietus eques.

Ergo, quæ juveni mihi non nocitura putavi

Scripta parum prudens, nunc nocuere seni?

With what show then of justice, it may be asked, could Augustus now punish a fault, which, in his solemn capacity of Cenfor, he had so long and repeatedly overlooked? The answer is obvious: in a production so popular as we may be assured the *Ars Amandi* was amongst the Roman youth, it must have passed through several editions in the course of some years; and one of those coinciding with the fatal discovery, afforded the emperor a specious pretext for the execution of his purpose. The severity exercised on this occasion, however, when the poet was suddenly driven into exile, unaccompanied even by the partner of his bed, who had been his companion for many years, was an act so inconsistent with the usual moderation of Augustus, that we cannot justly ascribe it to any other motive than personal resentment; especially as this arbitrary punishment of the author could answer no end of public utility, while the obnoxious production remained to affect, if it really ever did essentially affect, the morals of society. If the sensibility of Augustus could not thenceforth admit of any personal intercourse with Ovid, or even of his living within the limits of Italy, there would have been little danger from the example, in sending into honorable exile, with every indulgence which could alleviate so distressful a necessity, a man of respectable rank in the state, who was charged with no actual offence against the laws, and whose genius, with all its indiscretion, did immortal honor to his country. It may perhaps be urged, that,

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considering

considering the predicament in which Augustus stood, he discovered a forbearance greater than might have been expected from an absolute prince, in sparing the life of Ovid. It will readily be granted, that Ovid, in the same circumstances, under any one of the four subsequent emperors, would have expiated the incident with his blood. Augustus, upon a late occasion, had shown himself equally sanguinary : for he put to death, by the hand of Varus, a poet of Parma, named Cassius, on account of having written some satirical verses against him. By that recent example, therefore, and the power of pardoning, which the emperor still retained, there was sufficient hold of the poet's secrecy respecting the fatal transaction, which, if divulged to the world, Augustus would reprobate as a false and infamous libel, and punish the author accordingly. Ovid, on his part, was sensible, that, should he dare to violate the important but tacit injunction, the imperial vengeance would reach him even on the shores of the Euxine. It appears, however, from a passage in the *Ibis*, which can apply to no other than Augustus, that Ovid was not sent into banishment destitute of pecuniary provision :

*Dí melius ! quorum longe mibi maximus ille,
 Qui nostras inopes noluit esse vias.
 Huic igitur meritas grates, ubicumque licebit,
 Pro tam mansueto pectore semper agam.*

What sum the emperor bestowed, for the support of a banishment which he was resolved should be perpetual, it is impossible to ascertain : but he had formerly been liberal to Ovid, as well as to other poets.

If we might hazard a conjecture, respecting the scene of the intrigue which occasioned the banishment of Ovid, we should place it in some recess in the emperor's gardens.

gardens. His house, though called *Palatium*, the palace, as being built on the Palatine-hill, and inhabited by the sovereign, was only a small mansion, which had formerly belonged to Hortensius, the orator. Adjoining to this place, Augustus had built the temple of Apollo, which he endowed with a public library, and allotted for the use of poets, to recite their compositions to each other. Ovid was particularly intimate with Hyginus, one of Augustus's freedmen, who was librarian of the temple. He might therefore have been in the library, and spying from the window a young female secreting herself in the gardens, he had the curiosity to follow her.

The place of Ovid's banishment was Tomis, now said to be Babba, a town of Bulgaria, towards the mouth of the Ister, where is a lake still called by the natives, *Ouvidouwe Jesero*, the lake of Ovid. In this retirement, and the Euxine Pontus, he passed the remainder of his life, a melancholy period of seven years. Notwithstanding the lascivious writings of Ovid, it does not appear that he was in his conduct a libertine. He was three times married: his first wife, who was of mean extraction, and whom he had married when he was very young, he divorced; the second he dismissed on account of her immodest behaviour; and the third appears to have survived him. He had a number of respectable friends, and seems to have been much beloved by them.

Tibullus was descended of an Equestrian family, and is said, but erroneously, as will afterwards appear, to have been born on the same day with Ovid. His amiable accomplishments procured him the friendship of Messala Corvinus, whom he accompanied in a military expedition to the island of Corcyra.

Albius Tibullus.

But

But an indisposition with which he was seized, and a natural aversion to the toils of war, induced him to return to Rome, where he seems to have resigned himself to a life of indolence and pleasure, amidst which he devoted a part of his time to the composition of elegies. Elegiac poetry had been cultivated by several Greek writers, particularly Callimachus, Mimnermus, and Philetas ; but, so far as we can find, had, until the present age, been unknown to the Romans in their own tongue. It consisted of a heroic and pentameter line alternately, and was not, like the Elegy of the moderns, usually appropriated to the lamentation of the deceased, but employed chiefly in compositions relative to love or friendship, and might indeed be used upon almost any subject ; though, from the limp in the pentameter line, it is not suitable to sublime subjects, which require a fulness of expression, and an expansion of sound. To this species of poetry Tibullus restricted his application ; by which he cultivated that simplicity and tenderness and agreeable ease of sentiment, which constitute the characteristic perfections of the elegiac Muse.

In the description of rural scenes, the peaceful occupations of the field, the charms of domestic happiness, and the joys of reciprocal love, scarcely any poet surpasses Tibullus in his claims to our applause. His luxuriant imagination collects the most beautiful flowers of nature, and he displays them with all the delicate attraction of soft and harmonious numbers. With a dexterity peculiar to himself, in whatever subject he engages, he leads his readers imperceptibly through devious paths of pleasure, of which, at the outset of the poem, they could form no conception. He seems to have often written without any previous meditation or design. Several

veral of his elegies may be said to have neither middle nor end: yet the transitions are so natural, and the gradations so easy, that though we wander through Elysian scenes of fancy, the most heterogeneous in their nature, we are sensible of no defect in the concatenation which has joined them together. It is however to be regretted, that, in some instances, Tibullus betrays that licentiousness of manners which formed too general a characteristic even of this refined age. His elegies addressed to Messala contain a beautiful amplification of sentiments founded in friendship and esteem; in which it is difficult to say, whether the virtues of the patron or the genius of the poet be more conspicuous.

Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom he celebrates, was descended of a very ancient family. In the civil wars which followed the death of Julius Cæsar, he joined the republican party, and made himself master of the camp of Octavius at Philippi; but he was afterwards reconciled to his opponent, and lived to an advanced age in favor and esteem with Augustus. He was distinguished not only by his military talents, but by his eloquence, integrity and patriotism.

From the following passage in the writings of Tibullus, commentators have conjectured that he was deprived of his lands, by the same proscription in which those of Virgil had been involved:

*Cui fuerant flavi ditantes ordine sulci
Horrea, fœcundas ad deficientia messes,
Cuique pecus denso pascebant agmine colles,
Et domino satis, & nimium furique lupoque:
Nunc desiderium superest: nam cura novatur,
Cum memor anteauctos semper dolor admovet annos.*

LIB. IV. EL. 1.

But

But this seems not very probable, when we consider that Horace, several years after that period, represents him as opulent.

Dí tibi divitias dederant, artemque fruendi.

EPIST. LIB. I. 4.

We know not the age of Tibullus at the time of his death; but in an elegy written by Ovid upon that occasion, he is spoken of as a young man. Were it true, as is said by biographers, that he was born the same day with Ovid, we must indeed assign the event to an early period. For Ovid cannot have written the elegy after the forty-third year of his own life, and how long before, is uncertain. In the tenth elegy of the fourth book *De Tristibus*, he observes, that the fates had allowed little time for the cultivation of his friendship with Tibullus.

Virgilium vidi tantum: nec avara Tibullo

Tempus amicitia fata dedere meæ.

Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle; Propertius illi;

Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

Utque ego majores, sic me coluere minores.

As both Ovid and Tibullus lived at Rome, were both of the Equestrian Order, and of congenial dispositions, it is natural to suppose that their acquaintance commenced at an early period; and if, after all, it was of short duration, there would be no improbability in concluding, that Tibullus died at the age of some years under thirty. It is evident, however, that biographers have committed a mistake with regard to the birth of this poet: for in the passage above cited of the *Tristia*, Ovid mentions Tibullus as a writer, who, though his contemporary, was much older than himself. From this passage, we should be justified in placing the death of Tibullus between the fortieth and fiftieth year of his age, and rather

ther nearer to the latter period : for otherwise, Horace would scarcely have mentioned him in the manner he does in one of his Epistles.

*Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedanâ?
Scribere quod Cæsâr Parmensis opuscula vincat;
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?*

EPIST. I. 4.

This supposition is in no degree inconsistent with the authority of Ovid, where he mentions him as a young man ; for the Romans extended the period of youth to the fiftieth year.

Propertius was born at Mevania, a town of Umbria, seated at the confluence of the Tina and Clitumnus. This place was famous for its herds of white cattle, brought up there for sacrifice, and supposed to be impregnated with that color by the waters of the river last mentioned.

*S. Aurelius
Propertius.*

*Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, & maxima taurus
Vicitima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triumphos.* G. II.

His father is said by some to have been a Roman knight, and they add, that he was one of those who, when L. Antony was starved out of Perugia, were, by the order of Octavius, led to the altar of Julius Cæsar, and there slain. Nothing more is known with certainty, than that Propertius lost his father at an early age, and being deprived of a great part of his patrimony, betook himself to Rome, where his genius soon recommended him to public notice, and he obtained the patronage of Mæcenas. From his frequent introduction of historical

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and mythological subjects into his poems, he received the appellation of "the Learned."

Of all the Latin elegiac poets, Propertius has the justest claim to purity of thought and expression. He often draws his imagery from reading, more than from the imagination, and abounds less in description than sentiment. For warmth of passion he is not conspicuous, and his tenderness is seldom marked with a great degree of sensibility; but, without rapture, he is animated, and, like Horace, in the midst of gaiety, he is moral. The stores with which learning supplies him, diversify as well as illustrate his subject, while delicacy every where discovers a taste refined by the habit of reflexion. His versification, in general, is elegant, but not uniformly harmonious.

Tibullus and Propertius have each written four books of Elegies; and it has been disputed which of them is superior in this department of poetry. Quintilian has given his suffrage in favor of Tibullus, who, so far as poetical merit alone is the object of consideration, seems entitled to the preference.

Gallus was a Roman knight, distinguished not only for poetical but military talents. Of his poetry we have only six Elegies, written, in the person of an old man, on the subject of old age, but which, there is reason to think, were composed in an earlier part of the author's life. Except the fifth Elegy, which is tainted with immodesty, the others, particularly the first, are highly beautiful, and may be placed in competition with any other productions of the elegiac kind. Gallus was, for some time,

*Cn. Cornelius
Gallus.*

time, in great favor with Augustus, who appointed him governor of Egypt. It is said, however, that he not only oppressed the province by extortion, but entered into a conspiracy against his benefactor, for which he was banished. Unable to sustain such a reverse of fortune, he fell into despair, and laid violent hands on himself. This is the Gallus in honor of whom Virgil composed his tenth Eclogue.

Such are the celebrated productions of the Augustan age, which have been happily preserved, for the delight and admiration of mankind, and will survive to the latest posterity. Many more once existed, of various merit, and of different authors, which have left few or no memorials behind them, but have perished promiscuously amidst the indiscriminate ravages of time, of accidents, and of barbarians. Amongst the principal authors whose works are lost, are Varius and Valgius; the former of whom, besides a panegyric upon Augustus, composed some tragedies. According to Quintilian, his *Thyestes* was equal to any composition of the Greek tragic poets.

The great number of eminent writers, poets in particular, that adorned this age, has excited general admiration, and the phenomenon is usually ascribed to a fortuitous occurrence, which baffles all enquiry: but we shall endeavor to develop the various causes which seem to have produced this effect; and should the explanation appear satisfactory, it may favor an opinion, that under similar circumstances, if ever they should again be combined, a period of equal glory might arise in other ages and nations.

The Romans, whether from the influence of climate,

or their mode of living, which in general was temperate, were endowed with a lively imagination, and, as we before observed, a spirit of enterprize. Upon the final termination of the Punic war, and the conquest of Greece, their ardor, which had hitherto been exercised in military achievements, was diverted into the channel of literature; and the civil commotions which followed, having now ceased, a fresh impulse was given to activity in the ambitious pursuit of the laurel, which was now only to be obtained by glorious exertions of intellect. The beautiful productions of Greece operating strongly upon their minds, excited them to imitation; imitation, when roused amongst a number, produced emulation; and emulation cherished an extraordinary thirst of fame, which, in every exertion of the human mind, is the parent of excellence. This liberal contention was not a little promoted by the fashion introduced at Rome, for poets to recite their compositions in public; a practice which seems to have been carried even to a ridiculous excess.—Such was now the rage for poetical composition in the Roman capital, that Horace describes it in the following terms:

*Mutavit mentem populus levis, & calet uno
Scribendi studio: pueri patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti cœnant, & carmina dicant.*

EPIST. II. 1.

* * * * *
Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim. Ibid.

The thirst of fame abovementioned was a powerful incentive, and is avowed both by Virgil and Horace. The former, in the second book of his Georgics, announces a resolution of rendering himself celebrated, if possible.

———— *tentanda via est quâ me quoque possim
Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora.*

And

And Horace, in the conclusion of his first Ode, expresses himself in terms which indicate a similar purpose.

*Quod si me lyricis vatibus inferes,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.*

Even Sallust a historian, in his introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, scruples not to insinuate the same kind of ambition. *Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quærere; & quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere.*

Another circumstance of great importance, towards the production of such poetry as might live through every age, was the extreme attention which the great poets of this period displayed, both in the composition, and the polishing of their works. Virgil, when employed upon the Georgics, usually wrote in the morning, and applied much of the subsequent part of the day to correction and improvement. He compared himself to a bear, that licks her cub into form. If this was his regular practice in the Georgics, we may justly suppose that it was the same in the Æneid. Yet, after all this labor, he intended to devote three years entirely to its farther amendment. Horace has gone so far in recommending careful correction, that he figuratively mentions nine years as an adequate period for that purpose. But whatever may be the time, there is no precept which he urges either oftener or more forcibly, than a due attention to this important object.

*Sæpe stylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint
Scripturus.*

SAT. I. 10.

* * * * *

————— *Vos, O*

*Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non
Multa dies & multa litura coercuit, atque*

Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.

DE ART. POET.

To the several causes above enumerated, as concurring to the great superiority of the Augustan age, with respect to the productions of literature, one more is to be subjoined, of a nature the most essential; the liberal and unparalleled encouragement given to distinguished talents by the emperor and his minister. This was a principle of the most powerful energy: it fanned the flame of genius, invigorated every exertion; and the poets who basked in the rays of imperial favor, and the animating patronage of Mæcenas, experienced a poetic enthusiasm which approached to real inspiration.

Having now finished the proposed explanation, relative to the celebrity of the Augustan age, we shall conclude with recapitulating in a few words the causes of this extraordinary occurrence.

The models, then, which the Romans derived from Grecian poetry, were the finest productions of human genius; their incentives to emulation were the strongest that could actuate the heart. With ardor, therefore, and industry in composing, and with unwearied patience in polishing their compositions, they attained to that glorious distinction in literature, which no succeeding age has ever rivalled.

TIBERIUS

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR.

I. THE Patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a Plebeian family of the same name, no way inferior to the other either in power or dignity), came originally from Regilli, a town of the Sabines. They removed thence to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependants, under Titus Tatius, who was partner with Romulus in the kingdom, or perhaps, what is related upon better authority, under Atta Claudius, head of the family, six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins; at which time they were by the Senate chosen into the body of the nobility; receiving likewise from the government lands beyond the Anio, for their dependants, and a burying-place for themselves near the Capitol. After this period, in process of time, the family had the honor of eight and twenty Consulships, five Dictatorships, seven Censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations. Their descendants were distinguished by various *prænomena* and *cognomina**, but rejected by
 consent

* The Romans were divided into various clans (*Gentes*), and each *Gens* into several families, (*in Familias vel Stirpes*). Those of the same *Gens* were called *Gentiles*, and those of the same family, *Agnati*. Relations by the father's side were also called *Agnati*, to distinguish them from *Cognati*, relations

consent the prænomen of Lucius, after two of them with that name were convicted, one of robbery and the other of murder. Amongst other cognomina, they assumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine language signifies strong and valiant.

II. It appears from record, that many of the Claudii have performed signal services to the state, as well as committed acts of delinquency. To mention the most only by the mother's side. An *Agnatus* might also be called *Cognatus*, but not the contrary.

To mark the different *gentes* and *familiæ*, and to distinguish the individuals of the same family, the Romans had commonly three names, the *Prænomen*, *Nomen*, and *Cognomen*. The *Prænomen* was put first, and marked the individual. It was usually written with one letter; as *A.* for *Aulus*; *C.* *Caius*; *D.* *Decimus*: sometimes with two letters; as *Ap.* for *Appius*; *Cn.* *Cneius*: and sometimes with three; as *Mam.* for *Mamercus*.

The *Nomen* was put after the *Prænomen*, and marked the *gens*. It commonly ended in *ius*; as *Julius*, *Tullius*, *Cornelius*. The *Cognomen* was put last, and marked the *familia*; as *Cicero*, *Cæsar*, &c.

Some *gentes* seem to have had no surname; as the *Marian*; and *gens* and *familia* seem sometimes to be put one for the other; as the *Fabia gens*, or *Fabia familia*.

Sometimes there was a fourth name, properly called the *Agnomen*, but sometimes likewise *Cognomen*, which was added upon account of some illustrious action or remarkable event. Thus Scipio was named Publius Cornelius Scipio *Africanus*, from the conquest of Carthage in Africa. For the like reason, his brother was called Lucius Cornelius Scipio *Asiaticus*. In the same manner, Q. Fabius Maximus received the *Agnomen* of *Cunctator*, from his checking the impetuosity of Hannibal by declining battle.

remarkable

remarkable only, Appius Cæcus dissuaded the Senate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the public. Claudius first passed the strait of Sicily with a fleet, and drove the Carthaginians out of the island. Claudius Nero cut off Asdrubal with a vast army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain, before he could join his brother Annibal. On the other hand, Claudius Appius Regillanus, one of the Decemvirs, attempted in a violent manner, from a criminal passion, to have a young woman, who was free-born, declared by judicial sentence a slave; a transaction which occasioned a second separation of the commons from the Senate. Claudius Drusus erected a statue of himself covered with a crown in the Forum of Appius, and endeavored by the means of his dependants to make himself master of Italy. Claudius Pulcher, near the coast of Sicily, when the pullets, upon his using them in the way of augury, would not eat, in contempt of the ominous presage, sunk them in the sea, as if he was resolved they should drink at least, if they would not eat; and immediately engaging the enemy, was defeated. Being ordered by the Senate to name a Dictator, as if he was resolved to make a jest of the public danger, he named his pursuivant Glycias. Of the women of this family, likewise, the annals of the Republic afford examples equally repugnant to each other. For both the Claudias were of this family: she, who, when the ship with the holy things appertaining to the Idæan mother of the Gods stuck fast upon the sands of the Tiber, brought it off, after she had with a loud voice prayed to the Goddess, "Follow me if I am chaste;" and she also, that, contrary to the custom of the Romans, who were not used to proceed in that manner against women, was tried by the people for treason; because, when her chariot met with an accidental obstruction

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from a great crowd in the streets, she openly exclaimed, "I wish my brother Pulcher was alive again, to lose another fleet, that there might be less throng at Rome." Besides, it is notorious from the records of past times, that all the Claudii, excepting only P. Claudius, who, to accomplish the banishment of Cicero, procured a commoner, and one likewise younger than himself, to adopt him, were always of the Patrician party, as well as great flicklers for the honor and power of that Order; and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the commons, that not one of them, even in the case of a trial for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favor; and some of them, in their contests with the commons, have even proceeded to lay hands on their Tribunes. A Vestal virgin likewise of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honor of a triumph in spite of the authority of the people to the contrary, mounted the chariot with him, and attended him into the Capitol, to prevent the Tribunes from interposing to forbid it.

III. From this family Tiberius Cæsar is descended, and indeed both by the father and mother's side; by the former from Tiberius Nero, and by the latter from Appius Pulcher, who were both sons of Appius Cæcus. He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grand-father into it: which family, though plebeian, made a distinguished figure, having had the honor of eight Consulships, two Censorships, three triumphs, one Dictatorship, and the office of Master of the Horse; and was famous for eminent men, particularly Salinator and the Drusi. Salinator, in his Censorship, put a mark of infamy upon all the tribes, for their inconstancy

stancy in making him Consul a second time, and Censor, though they had condemned and fined him after his first Consulship. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new surname, by killing in close fight Drausus, a general of the enemy. He is likewise said to have recovered, when Pro-prætor in the province of Gaul, the gold which had been formerly given to the Senones, in the siege of the Capitol, and had not, as is reported, been forced from them by Camillus. His great-great-grandson, who for his extraordinary services against the Gracchi, was styled the patron of the Senate, left a son, who, projecting a variety of schemes, during a similar dissension, was murdered in a treacherous manner by the opposite party.

IV. But the father of Tiberius Cæsar, being Quæstor to C. Cæsar, and commander of the fleet in the war of Alexandria, contributed greatly to the success of it. He was therefore made one of the high-priests in the room of P. Scipio; and was sent to settle some colonies in Gaul, and amongst the rest those of Narbonne and Arles. After the death of Cæsar, however, when the rest of the Senators, for fear of public disturbances, were for having the transaction buried in oblivion, he even moved expressly the house for rewarding those who had killed the tyrant. When his Prætorship was expired, upon occasion of a disturbance breaking out amongst the Triumviri, in the end of the year, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following L. Antonius the Consul, brother to the Triumvir, to Perusia, though the rest submitted, yet he by himself continued firm to the party, and got off first to Præneste, and then to Naples; whence, having in vain invited the slaves to liberty, he fled over to Sicily. But conceiving resentment at not being immediately

diately admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompey, and being besides forbid the use of the Fasces, he went over into Achaia to M. Antony; with whom, upon a reconciliation soon after brought about amongst the several contending parties, he returned to Rome; and, at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife Livia Drusilla, though she was then big with child, and had before borne him a son. He died not long after; leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero.

V. Some have imagined that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but upon a trifling foundation for the conjecture, because his mother's grandmother was of Fundi, and that the image of Good Fortune was by a decree of the Senate erected in a public place in that town. But according to the greatest number of writers, and those too of the best authority, he was born at Rome, in the Palatium, upon the sixteenth of the Calends of December, when M. Æmilius Lepidus was second time Consul, with L. Munatius Plancus, after the battle of Philippi; for so it is registered in the calendar, and the public acts. According to some, however, he was born the preceding year, in the Consulship of Hirtius and Pansa; and others say, in the year following, during the Consulship of Servilius Isauricus and Antony.

VI. His infancy and childhood were passed amidst a great deal of danger and trouble. He accompanied his parents every where in their flight, and had like to have betrayed them by his crying at Naples, as they were privately making towards their ship, upon the enemy's breaking into the town: once, when he was taken from his nurse's breast, and again, from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who on that sudden emergency wished

wished to ease the women of their burden. Being carried through Sicily and Achaia, and entrusted some time to the care of the Lacedæmonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence by night, he ran the hazard of his life, by a fire suddenly bursting out of a wood on all hands, which surrounded the whole company so closely, that part of Livia's cloaths and hair were burnt. The presents which were made him by Pompeia, sister to Sextus Pompey, in Sicily, viz. a cloak, a clasp, and golden bullæ, are still extant, and shewn at Baiæ to this day. After his return to the city, being adopted by M. Gallius, a Senator, in his will, he entered upon the estate; but soon after declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party against Augustus. When only nine years of age, he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his father upon the Rostra; and afterwards, when he had nearly attained the age of manhood, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his triumph for the victory at Actium, riding upon the outside horse of his chariot on the left hand, whilst Marcellus, Octavia's son, rode upon the right. He likewise presided at the games celebrated upon account of that victory; and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he commanded a troop of the tallest boys.

VII. After assuming the manly habit, he spent his youth, and the rest of his life until he came to the government, in the following manner. He gave the people an entertainment of gladiators, in memory of his father, and another for his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places: the first in the Forum, the second in the amphitheatre; some gladiators who had been honorably discharged, being induced to engage again, by a reward of a hundred thousand sesterces. He likewise presented

presented the public with plays, but was not present himself. All these he did in a splendid manner, at the charge of his mother and father-in law. He married Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa, and grand-daughter of Cæcilius Atticus, a Roman knight, the same person to whom Cicero has addressed so many epistles. After he had by her his son Drusus, he was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affection, and was again pregnant, to marry Augustus's daughter Julia. But this he did with extreme reluctance; for, besides having the warmest attachment to Agrippina, he was disgusted with the behaviour of Julia, who had made indecent advances to him during the life-time of her former husband; and that she was a woman of such a character, was the general opinion of her. After the divorce of Agrippina he felt the deepest regret; and upon meeting her afterwards, he looked after her with eyes so passionately expressive of affection, that care was taken she should never come more in his sight. At first, however, he lived quietly and happily with Julia: but a rupture soon ensued; which became so violent, that, after the loss of their son, who was born at Aquileia, and died an infant, he never would sleep with her more. He lost his brother Drusus in Germany, and brought his body to Rome, travelling all the way on foot before it.

VIII. In his first essays in the offices of civil life, he pleaded the several causes of king Archelaus, the Tralians, and Thessalians, before Augustus, who sat as judge at the trial of them. He interceded with the Senate in behalf of the Laodiceans, the Thyatireans, and Chians, who had suffered greatly by an earthquake, and solicited relief of the Romans. He prosecuted Fannius Cæpio, who had been engaged in a conspiracy with

Varro

Varro Muræna against Augustus, and procured sentence of condemnation against him. During these transactions, he had a double charge upon his hands, that of supplying the city with corn, which was then very scarce, and that of purging the work-houses throughout Italy; the masters of which were fallen under an odious suspicion of seizing and keeping confined, not only travellers, but those whom the fear of being obliged to serve in the wars, had driven to seek refuge in such places.

IX. He made his first campaign in the war of Cantabria, in quality of a Tribune. Afterwards he led an army into the East, where he restored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes; and being seated upon a tribunal, put a crown upon his head. He likewise received from the Parthians the standards which they had taken from Crassus. He next governed, for near a year, the province of Gallia Comata, which was then in great disorder, on account of the incursions of the barbarians, and the feuds of the grandees. He afterwards commanded in the several wars against the Rhætians, Vindelicians, Pannonians, and Germans. In the Rhætian and Vindelician wars, he subdued the nations in the Alps; and in the Pannonian, the Bruci and the Dalmatians. In the German war, he transplanted into Gaul forty thousand of the enemy that had submitted, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For these actions, he entered the city in ovation, but mounted on a chariot, and is said by some to have been the first that ever was honored with this distinction. He entered very young upon the public offices of state; and ran through the Quæstorship, Prætorship, and Consulate almost successively. After some interval, he was chosen Consul a second

second time, and held the Tribunitian authority during five years.

X. In the midst of all his prosperity, in the prime of his years, and a good state of health, he all on a sudden formed a resolution to withdraw to a great distance from Rome. It is uncertain whether this was owing to any consideration of his wife, whom he neither durst complain of, nor divorce, and with whom the connexion became every day more intolerable ; or to prevent that indifference towards him, which his constant residence in the city might in time produce ; or to the hope of supporting and improving by absence his authority in the state, if the public should have occasion for his service. Some are of opinion, that because Augustus's sons were now grown up to years of maturity, he voluntarily relinquished the possession he had long enjoyed of the second post in the government, as Agrippa had done before him ; who, when M. Marcellus was advanced to public offices, retired to Mitylene, that he might not seem to stand in the way of his promotion, or in any respect lessen him by his presence. The same reason likewise Tiberius gave afterwards for his retirement ; but his pretext at this time was, that he was satiated with honors, and desirous of being relieved from the fatigue of business ; requesting therefore that he might have leave to withdraw. And neither the earnest entreaties of his mother, nor the complaints of his father-in-law in the Senate, that he was deserted by him, could prevail upon him to alter his resolution. Upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to take any sustenance for four days together. At last, having obtained permission, he quitted the city with his wife and son, and
went

went immediately for Ostia, without speaking a word to any person that waited upon him thither ; and saluted but very few at parting.

XI. From Ostia coasting along Campania, upon advice of Augustus's being taken ill, he stopped a little : but this circumstance giving rise to a rumor that he staid with a view to something extraordinary, he resumed his voyage, and with the wind almost full against him arrived at Rhodes ; having been much taken with the pleasantness and wholsomeness of the island, from the time of his landing there in his return from Armenia. Here contenting himself with a moderate house, and a country-seat not much larger, near the town, he led entirely a private life ; taking his walks sometimes about the *Gymnasia* *, without any servant to attend him, and returning the civilities of the Greeks with almost as much complaisance as if he had been upon a level with them. One morning in settling the rout of his diurnal excursion, he happened to say, that he should visit all the sick people in town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick people were brought into a public portico, and ranged in order, according to their several distempers. Being extremely embarrassed by this unexpected occurrence, he was for some time irresolute how he should act ; but at last he determined to go round them all, and made an apology for the mistake even to the meanest amongst them, and such as were entirely unknown to him. One instance only is mentioned, in which he appeared to exercise his Tribunitian authority. Being a

* The *Gymnasia* were places of exercise, and received their denomination from a Greek word signifying *naked* ; because the contending parties wore nothing but drawers.

constant attendant upon the schools and auditories of the professors of the liberal arts, upon occasion of a quarrel amongst the counter-sophisters, in which he interposed to reconcile them, some person took the liberty to abuse him as partial in the affair. Upon this, withdrawing privately home, he suddenly returned with his officers attending him, summoned before him, by a public crier, the person who was the object of his resentment, and ordered him to be carried to prison. Afterwards he received advice that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lewdness and adultery, and that a bill of divorce had been sent to her in his name, by the authority of Augustus. Though he secretly rejoiced at this intelligence, he thought it incumbent upon him, in point of decency, to interpose in her behalf by frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her to retain the presents which he had made her, notwithstanding the little regard she merited of him. When the time of Tribunitian authority expired, declaring at last that he had no other object in his retirement than to avoid all suspicion of rivalry with Caius and Lucius, he petitioned, that, since he was now secure in that respect, as they were come to the age of manhood, and would easily maintain themselves in the possession of the second posts of government, he might be permitted to visit his friends, whom he was very desirous of seeing. But his request was denied; and he was advised to lay aside all concern for his relations, whom he had left with such eagerness for separation.

XII. He therefore continued at Rhodes much against his will, obtaining with difficulty, by his mother, the title of Augustus's lieutenant, to conceal his disgrace. He thenceforth lived however not only as a private person, but in danger and perplexity, retiring up into the
country,

country, and avoiding the visits of those who failed that way, which were very frequent; for no one passed for the command of an army, or government of a province in those parts, without putting in at Rhodes. But there were other reasons which gave him yet greater disturbance. For passing over into Samos, upon a visit to his step-son Caius, who had been made a governor in the East, he found him prepossessed against him; by the insinuations of M. Lollius, his companion and director. He likewise fell under a suspicion of sending by some captains who had been promoted by himself, upon their return to the camp after a furlough, dark kinds of messages to several persons there, as if intended to found them how they were disposed to revolt. This jealousy respecting his designs being intimated to him by Augustus, he begged repeatedly that some person of any of the three Orders might be placed as a spy upon him in every thing he either said or did.

XIII. He laid aside likewise his usual exercises of riding and arms; and quitting the Roman habit, made use of the Pallium and Crepida*. In this condition he continued almost two years, becoming daily more contemptible and odious; insomuch that the Nemausensians pulled down all the images and statues of him in their town. Upon mention being made of him at Caius's table, one of the company said to that governor, "I will go over to Rhodes immediately, if you desire me, and bring you the head of the exile;" for that was the appellation now given him. Thus alarmed not only by apprehensions, but real danger, he renewed his solicitations for leave to return; and seconded by the most urgent supplications of

* A low shoe, or slipper.

his mother, he at last obtained his request; to which an accident somewhat contributed. Augustus had resolved to determine nothing in the affair, but with the consent of his eldest son. The latter was at that time out of humor with M. Lollius, and therefore easily engaged to a compliance in favor of his father-in-law. Caius thus acquiescing in the measure, he was recalled, but upon condition, that he should take no concern whatever in the administration of affairs.

XIV. He returned to Rome after an absence of near eight years, with great and confident hopes of his future elevation, which from his youth he had entertained from various prodigies and predictions. For Livia, when pregnant with him, being anxious to discover, by different ways of divination, whether her offspring would be a son; amongst the rest took an egg from a hen that was sitting, and kept it warm with her own hands, and her maids' by turns, until a fine cock-chicken with a large comb was hatched. Scribonius the astrologer predicted great things of him when he was but a child. "He will come," said the prophet, "in time to be a king too, but without the usual badge of royal dignity;" the dignity of the Cæsars being as yet unknown to the world. As he was going upon his first expedition, and leading his army through Macedonia for Syria, the altars which had been consecrated at Philippi by the victorious legions blazed out of themselves all on a sudden with fire. Soon after, as he was marching to Illyricum, he called to consult the oracle of Geryon at Patavium; and having drawn a lot by which he was desired to throw golden *tali* into the fountain of Aponus, for an answer to his enquiries, he did so, and the highest numbers came up. And those very *tali* are still to be seen at the bottom of the

the fountain. A few days before his leaving Rhodes, an eagle, a bird never before seen in that island, sat all day long upon the top of his house. And the day before he received advice of the permission granted him to return, as he was changing his cloaths, his tunic appeared to be all on fire. He then likewise had a remarkable proof of the skill of Thrasyllus the astrologer, whom, for his proficiency in philosophical researches, he had taken into his family. For upon sight of the ship that brought the advice, he said, good news was coming: whereas every thing going wrong before, and quite contrary to expectation, Tiberius had intended that very moment to throw him into the sea, as an impostor, and one to whom he had too hastily entrusted his secrets,

XV. Upon his return to Rome, having introduced his son Drusus into the Forum, he immediately removed from Pompey's house in the Carinæ, to the gardens of Mæcenas in the Esquilæ, and resigned himself entirely to his ease, performing only the common offices of civility in private life, without any preferment in the government. But Caius and Lucius being both carried off in the space of three years, he was adopted by Augustus with their brother Agrippa; being obliged in the first place to adopt Germanicus, his brother's son. After this, he never more acted as master of a family, nor exercised in the smallest degree the rights which he had lost by adoption. For he neither disposed of any thing in the way of gift, nor manumitted a slave; nor so much as received any estate left him by will, nor any legacy without reckoning it as a part of his *peculium* or property held under his father. From that day forward, nothing was omitted that might contribute to the advancement of his grandeur, and much more, when,

upon the discarding and banishing of Agrippa, it was evident that the hope of succession rested upon him alone.

XVI. The Tribunitian authority was again conferred upon him for five years, and a commission given him to settle the state of Germany. The ambassadors of the Parthians, after having had an audience of Augustus, were ordered to apply to him likewise in his province. But upon advice of an insurrection in Illyricum, he went over to superintend the management of that new war, which proved the most dangerous of all the foreign wars, since the Carthaginian. This he conducted during three years, with fifteen legions and an equal number of auxiliary forces, under great difficulties, and an extreme scarcity of corn. And though he was several times desired to come home, he nevertheless persisted; fearing lest an enemy so powerful, and likewise so near, should fall upon them in their retreat. This resolution was attended with good success; for he at last reduced to complete subjection all Illyricum, lying betwixt Italy and the kingdom of Noricum, Thrace, Macedonia, the river Danube, and the Adriatic gulf.

XVII. The glory he acquired by these transactions received an encrease from the conjuncture in which they happened. For almost about that very time Quintilius Varus was cut off with three legions in Germany; and it was generally believed that the victorious Germans would have joined the Pannonians, had not the war of Illyricum been previously concluded. A triumph therefore, exclusive of many other great honors, was decreed him. Some proposed that he should have the appellation of "Pannonicus," others that of "Invincible," and others, of "Dutiful." But with respect to any of these appella-

appellations Augustus interposed, as unnecessary ; engaging for him that he would be satisfied with what he should leave him at his death. He postponed his triumph, because the state was at that time under great affliction for the disaster of Varus and his army. Nevertheless, he entered the city in a triumphal robe, with a crown of laurel on his head, and mounted a tribunal in the Septa, whilst the Senate gave their attendance standing, and sat with Augustus betwixt the two Consuls ; whence, after he had paid his respects to the people, he was attended by them on a visit to the several temples.

XVIII. Next year he went again to Germany, where finding that the defeat of Varus had happened through the rashness and negligence of the commander, he thought proper to be guided in every thing by the advice of a council of war : whereas at other times, he used to follow the dictates of his own judgment, and considered himself alone as sufficiently qualified for the direction of affairs. He likewise took more care than usual. Being to pass the Rhine, and having given particular orders about provisions for the army, he would not suffer the waggons to go over, until he had searched them at the water-side, to see that they carried nothing but what was permitted or necessary. Beyond the Rhine, such was his way of living, that he would eat sitting on the bare ground ; often lie all night without a tent ; and his regular daily orders, as well as those upon sudden emergencies, he gave all in writing, with this injunction, that in case of any doubt as to the meaning of them, they should apply to him for satisfaction, even at any hour of the night.

XIX. He maintained the strictest discipline amongst

the troops ; reviving many old customs relative to the punishing and disgracing of offenders ; setting a mark of infamy even upon a lieutenant-general, for sending a few foldiers with a freedman of his beyond the river a hunting. Though it was his desire to leave as little as possible in the power of fortune or accident, yet he always felt a stronger impulse to engage the enemy, as often as upon his reading by night, his lamp fell and went out of itself, confiding, as he said, in an omen which had been fully evinced by himself and his ancestors in the command of armies. But after all his success in the war, he was very near being assassinated by a Bructerian, who mixing with those about him, and being discovered by his trepidation, was put to the torture, and confessed that he had entertained a design upon his life.

XX. After two years he returned from Germany to town again, and celebrated the triumph which he had deferred, attended by his lieutenant-generals, for whom he had procured the honor of triumphal ornaments. Before he turned up to the Capitol, he alighted from his chariot, and threw himself at his father's feet, who sat by to superintend the solemnity. Bato the Pannonian general he sent loaded with rich presents to Ravenna, in gratitude for his having suffered him and his army to march off, from a place where he had so enclosed them that they were entirely at his mercy. He afterwards gave the people a dinner at a thousand tables, besides thirty sesterces to each man. He likewise dedicated the temple of Concord ; as also that of Castor and Pollux, which had been erected out of the spoils of the war, in his own and his brother's name,

XXI. A law being not long after preferred and passed
by

by the Consuls for his being joined with Augustus in the administration of the provinces, and likewise to take the Census with him, upon the conclusion of that affair, he went into Illyricum. But being hastily recalled, whilst he was yet upon his journey, he found Augustus alive indeed, but past all hopes of recovery, and was with him in private a whole day. I know, it is generally believed, that upon Tiberius's quitting the room, after their private conference, those who were in waiting over-heard Augustus say, "Ah! unhappy Roman people, that are like to be in the jaws of such a slow-grinding beast." Nor am I ignorant of its being reported by some, that Augustus so openly and undisguisedly condemned the sourness of his temper, that sometimes upon his coming in, he would break off any jocular conversation in which he was engaged; and that he was only prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife to adopt him; or actuated with an ambitious view of recommending his own memory from a comparison with such a successor. Yet I must be of opinion, that a prince so extremely circumspect and prudent as he was, especially in an affair of so great importance, did nothing rashly; but that, upon weighing the vices and virtues of Tiberius with each other, he judged the latter to preponderate; and this the rather since he swore publicly in an assembly of the people, that "he adopted him for the public good." Besides, in several of his letters, he extols him as a consummate general, and the sole security of the Roman people. Of such declarations I subjoin the following instances; "Farewell, my dear Tiberius, and may success attend you, whilst you command for me and the Muses. Farewell, my most dear, and (let me prosper according to my sincerity) most gallant man, and accomplished general." Again. "The disposition of
your

your summer-quarters? In truth, my dear Tiberius, I do not think, that amidst so many difficulties, and with an army so little disposed for action, any one could have behaved more prudently than you have done. All those likewise who were with you, acknowledge that verse applicable to you :”

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

This man by vigilance restor'd the state.

“ Whether,” says he, “ any thing happens that requires more than ordinary consideration, or I am out of humor upon any occasion, I still, by Hercules, long for my dear Tiberius; and those lines of Homer frequently occur to my thoughts :”

Ταῦτα δ' ἐσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο

Ἀμφω νοσήσασιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἷδε νοησαι.

Bold from his prudence, I could ev'n aspire
To dare with him the burning rage of fire.

“ When I hear and read that you are much impaired by the continued fatigues you undergo, let me die if it don't set my whole body a trembling. And I beg you to spare yourself, lest, if we should hear of your being ill, the news prove fatal both to me and your mother, and the Roman empire should be endangered. It matters nothing whether I be well or no, if you be not well. I pray heaven preserve you for us, and bless you with health both now and ever, if the Gods have any regard for the Roman people.”

XXII. He did not make the death of Augustus public, until he had taken off young Agrippa. He was slain by a Tribune who commanded the guard about him, upon
reading

reading a written order for that purpose : which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left behind him at his death, to prevent any occasion of public disturbance after his decease, or Livia had issued it, and whether with the knowledge of Tiberius or not. When the Tribune came to inform him that he had executed his command, he replied, “ I commanded you no such thing, and you must answer for it to the Senate ;” avoiding, as it seems, the odium of the act for that time. For the affair was buried in silence.

XXIII. Having summoned the Senate to meet, by virtue of his Tribunitian authority, and begun a speech to them relative to the state of public affairs, he fetched a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction ; wished that not only his voice but his breath too might fail him, and gave his speech to his son Drusus to read. Augustus’s will was then brought into the house, and read by a freedman ; none of the witnesses to it being admitted, but such as were of the Senatorian Order, the rest owning their hand-writing without doors. The will began thus : “ Since my ill fortune has deprived me of my two sons Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Cæsar be heir to two thirds of my estate.” These words countenanced the suspicion of those who were of opinion, that Tiberius was appointed successor more out of necessity than choice, since Augustus could not refrain from prefacing his will in that manner.

XXIV. Though he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by giving orders that he might be attended by the guards, which were the security and badge of the supreme power ; yet he affected, by a most impudent piece of grimace, to refuse it
for

for a long time ; one while sharply reprehending his friends who entreated him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was ; another while keeping in suspense the Senate, that requested the same of him, and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answers, and a crafty kind of dissimulation ; insomuch that some were out of patience, and one during the confusion of the house upon this occasion cried out, “ Either let him accept it, or decline it at once ;” and a second told him to his face, “ Others are slow to perform what they promise, but you are slow to promise what you actually perform.” At last, as if perfectly forced to it, and complaining of that miserable load of slavery that was laid upon him, he accepted the government, but yet in such a manner, as to give hopes of his resigning it some time or other. The words he used upon this occasion were these : “ Until the time shall come, when ye may think it reasonable to give some rest to my old age.”

XXV. The cause of his demurring so much upon the occasion, was his fear of the dangers which threatened him on all hands ; insomuch that he said, “ I have got a wolf by the ears.” For a slave of Agrippa’s, Clemens by name, had drawn together a considerable force to revenge his master’s death ; L. Scribonius Libo, a Senator of the first distinction, was secretly attempting a rebellion ; and the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were all in an uproar. Both armies insisted upon high demands, particularly that their pay should be made equal to that of the guards at Rome. The army in Germany absolutely refused to acknowledge a prince who was not of their own choosing ; and urged with all possible importunity Germanicus, who commanded them, to take the government upon him, though he obstinately refused it.

it. It was Tiberius's apprehension from this quarter, that made him beg of the Senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper, since no man could be sufficient for the whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended likewise to be in a bad state of health, that Germanicus might the more patiently wait in hopes of speedily succeeding him, or at least of being taken into a share of the administration. When the mutinies in the armies were suppressed, he got by stratagem Clemens into his hands. That he might not begin his reign by an act of severity, he did not call Libo to an account before the Senate until his second year, being content, in the mean time, with taking proper precautions for his own security. For upon Libo's attending a sacrifice amongst the high-priests, instead of the usual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him; and when he desired a private conference with him, he would not grant his request, but upon the condition that his son Drusus should be present; and as they walked together, he held him fast by the right hand, under the pretence of leaning upon him, until the conversation was over.

XXVI. When he was delivered from his apprehensions, his behaviour at first was unassuming, not much above the level of a private person; and of the many and great honors offered him, he accepted but few, and such as were very moderate. His birth-day, which happened to fall in the time of the Plebeian Circensian games, he with difficulty suffered to be honored by the addition of a single chariot, drawn with only two horses. He forbid temples, Flamens, or priests to be appointed for him, as likewise the erection of any statues or effigies for him, without his permission; and this he granted only
upon

upon condition that they should not be placed amongst the images of the Gods, but only amongst the ornaments of houses. He also interposed to prevent the Senate from swearing to maintain his acts; and that the month of September should not be called Tiberius, nor October, Livy. The prænomen likewise of Imperator, with the cognomen of Father of his country, and a civic crown to hang constantly at the entrance of his house, he would not accept of. He never used the name of Augustus, though hereditary to him, in any of his letters, excepting those to kings and princes. Nor had he more than three Consulships, one for a few days, another for three months, and a third, during his absence from the city, until the Ides of May.

XXVII. He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any Senator to approach his chair, as he passed the streets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon business. And when a man of Consular rank, in begging his pardon for some offence he had given him, made a motion to fall at his knees, he darted from him in such a hurry, that he fell flat upon his back. If any compliment was paid him, either in conversation or a set speech, he would not scruple to interrupt and reprimand the party, and alter what he said. Being once called "Lord," by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner. When another, to excite veneration, called his occupations "sacred," and a third had expressed himself thus: "By your authority I have waited upon the Senate," he obliged them to alter their words; one of them to use, instead of "authority," *persuasion*, and the other, for "sacred," *laborious*.

XXVIII. He remained unmoved at all the aspersions, scandalous

scandalous reports, and lampoons, which were spread against him or his relations; and would now and then say, "In a free state, both the tongue and mind ought to be free." Upon the Senate's desiring that some notice might be taken of those offences, and the persons charged with them, he replied, "We have not so much time upon our hands, that we ought to engage in more business. If ye once make an opening for things of this nature, ye will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence." The following is another sentence used by him in the Senate, and far from assuming: "If he speaks otherwise of me, I shall take care to behave in such a manner, as to be able to give a good account both of my words and actions; and if he goes on, I shall hate him in my turn."

XXIX. These things were so much the more remarkable in him, because, in the respect he paid to individuals, or the whole body of the Senate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Q. Haterius in the house, "Pardon me, sir," said he, "I beseech you, if I shall as a Senator speak my mind very freely in opposition to you." Afterwards, addressing the whole house, he expressed himself thus: "Conscript Fathers, I have often said it both now and at other times, that a good prince who has a regard to the welfare of the people, whom ye have invested with so great and absolute a power, ought to be a slave to the Senate, to the whole body of the people, and often to individuals likewise: nor am I sorry that I have said it. I have always found you good, kind, and favorable masters, and still find you so."

XXX. He likewise introduced an appearance of liberty, by preserving to the Senate and magistrates their

former majesty and power. All affairs, whether of great or small consideration, public or private, were laid before the Senate ; as the taxes, monopolies, the business of raising or repairing buildings, the levying and disbanding of soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, and the answering of letters from foreign princes, were all submitted to the Senate. He never entered the house but alone ; and being once brought thither in a chair, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door.

XXXI. When some things were decreed against his advice, he did not so much as complain of it. And though he gave it as his opinion that no magistrates after their election should be suffered to absent themselves from the city, but reside in it constantly, to enjoy the honor they had obtained, a Prætor elect procured liberty to leave the town, under the honorary title of a free lieutenant. Again, when he proposed to the house, that the Trebians might have leave granted them to employ some money which had been left them by will, for the building of a new theatre, towards the making of a causeway, he could not prevail to have the intention of the testator set aside. And when, upon a division of the house, he went over to the minority, no body followed him. All other things of a public nature were likewise transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms ; the authority of the Consuls remaining so great, that some ambassadors from Africa waited upon them with a complaint, that they could not have their business dispatched by Cæsar, to whom they had been sent. And no wonder ; since it was observed that he used to rise up to them, and give the way.

XXXII. He

XXXII. He reprimanded some persons of Consular rank at the head of the several armies, for not writing to the Senate an account of their transactions, and for consulting him about the distribution of some military presents; as if they themselves had not a right to bestow them as they judged proper. He commended a Prætor, who, upon entering on his office, revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He attended the corpses of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He discovered the same imoderate conduct with regard to persons and things of inferior consideration. He sent for the magistrates of Rhodes, who had dispatched to him a public letter, which was not as usual subscribed; and without giving them so much as one harsh word, he desired them to subscribe it, and dismissed them. Diogenes, the grammarian, who used to read lectures at Rhodes every Saturday, had once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and ordered him by a servant to come again seven days after. This same person coming to Rome, and waiting at his door for admission to pay his respects to him, he sent him word to come again at the end of seven years. To some governors of provinces, who advised him to load them with taxes, he answered, "It is the part of a good shepherd to shear, not to flea his sheep."

XXXIII. By degrees he assumed the exercise of the sovereignty, but for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first he only interposed to prevent ill management. Accordingly he rescinded some decrees of the Senate; and when the magistrates sat for the administration of justice he would offer his service as an

assessor, and sit amongst them, or in the opposite part of the court, fronting them. If a rumor prevailed, that any person under prosecution was likely by his interest to be acquitted, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground-benches, or the Prætor's seat, would remind the judges of the laws, their oath, and the nature of the charge brought before them. He likewise took upon him the correction of the public manners, where any abuse had been countenanced, either by neglect of duty in the magistrates, or the prevalency of custom.

XXXIV. He reduced the expence of public sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people; by diminishing the allowance to stage-players for their service, and abridging the number of gladiators upon those occasions. He made grievous complaint to the Senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was risen to a prodigious height, and that three barbels had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces; upon which he moved in the house, that a new sumptuary law should be enacted: that the shambles should be subjected to such regulations, as to the Senate should appear proper; and the *Ædiles* commissioned to restrain taverns and victualling-houses, so far as not to permit even the sale of biscuit, or cakes of any kind. And to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his entertainments upon solemn occasions, have at his table victuals which had been served up the day before, and were half-eaten, and the half of a boar, declaring, "It has all the same good bits that the whole had." He forbid by proclamation the daily use of the kiss, in the way of civility; as likewise the practice of presenting new-year's-gifts after the first of January. He had been used to make a return
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of four times as much as he received in that way, and with his own hand; but being offended at the continual disturbance which was given him during the whole month, by those who had not the opportunity of attending him upon the festival, he returned none after that day.

XXXV. Married women guilty of adultery, and whom none appeared to prosecute, he authorised the nearest relations to punish by concert amongst themselves, according to ancient custom. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife; and allowed him to divorce her, upon her being caught in criminal intercourse with her son-in-law. Scandalous women, divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, had now begun a practice of professing themselves prostitutes, to avoid the punishment of the laws; and the most profligate young men of the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, to secure themselves against a decree of the Senate, which prohibited their acting upon the stage, or fighting as gladiators in the theatre, voluntarily subjected themselves to an infamous sentence, by which they were degraded. All those he banished, that none for the future might evade by such artifices the intention and efficacy of the law. He took from a Senator the laticlavian tunic, upon information of his having before the Calends of July removed into his gardens, that he might afterwards hire a house cheaper in the city. He likewise dismissed another from the office of Quæstor, for divorcing, the day after his province had been assigned him by lot, a wife whom he had married only the day before.

XXXVI. He suppressed all foreign religions, the Egyptian and Jewish rites of worship, obliging all such

as followed that kind of superstition, to burn their holy vestments, and every instrument of religious ceremony. The young men amongst the Jews he disposed of, under the pretence of their serving in the wars, in provinces of an unhealthful air; and banished from the city all the rest of that nation, or proselytes to that religion, under a penalty of being condemned to slavery for life, if they did not comply with his orders. He banished the astrologers; but upon their begging pardon, and promising to renounce their profession, he revoked his decree.

XXXVII. But above all things he was careful to secure the public quiet against the attempts of house-breakers, robbers, and such as were disaffected to the government. For this purpose he posted in the different quarters of Italy more guards of soldiers than had been usual; and formed a camp at Rome for the Prætorian battalions, who till then had lived dispersed in the city. He suppressed with great severity all tumults of the people at their commencement; and took every precaution to prevent them. Some persons having been killed in a quarrel which happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players, upon whose account the disturbance had arisen. Nor could all the entreaties of the people afterwards prevail upon him to recall them. The commonalty of Pollentia having refused to permit the removal of the corpse of a Centurion of the first rank from the Forum, until they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money for a public show of gladiators, he sent upon them a battalion from the city, and another from the kingdom of Cotius; who concealing the occasion of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms all on a sudden uncovered, and trumpets sounding; by whom the greatest part of the common
people,

people, and members of the council of state, being seized, he imprisoned them for life. He abolished every where the privileges of all places of refuge. The Cyzicenians, for an outrage committed upon some Romans, he deprived of the liberty they had obtained for their good services in the Mithridatic war. Disturbances from foreign enemies he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever going against them in person. Nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with much reluctance, and when an interposition was necessary. Princes who were ill affected towards him, he kept in subjection, more by menaces and complaints, than by the force of arms. And some that he induced to come to him by fair words and promises, he never would permit to return home; as Maraboduus the German, Thrascypolis the Thracian, and Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom he likewise reduced into the form of a province.

XXXVIII. He never set foot out of the gates of Rome, for two years together, from the time he assumed the supreme power; and after that period, went no farther from the city than to some of the neighbouring towns; his farthest excursion being to Antium, and that but very seldom, and for a few days, though he often gave out that he would visit the provinces and armies, and made preparations for it almost every year, by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for his retinue in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered vows to be put up for his good journey and safe return, inasmuch that he was called jocosely by the name of Callipides, who is famous in a Grecian proverb, for being in a great hurry to go forward, but without ever advancing a cubit.

XXXIX. But after the loss of his two sons, of whom Germanicus died in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he withdrew into Campania; at which time, the opinion and report likewise were almost general, that he never would return, and would die soon. Both the opinion and report had like to have been true. For indeed he never more came to Rome; and a few days after, as he was at a seat of his called the Cave, near Terracina, there happened to fall a great many huge stones, which killed several of the guests and attendants: but he unexpectedly escaped.

XL. After he had gone round Campania, and dedicated a Capitol at Capua, and a temple to Augustus at Nola, which he made the pretext of his journey, he retired to Capreæ; being greatly delighted with the island, because it was accessible only by a small shore, being in all other parts surrounded with craggy rocks, of a stupendous height, and a deep sea. But immediately the people of Rome being extremely clamorous for his return, on account of a disaster at Fidenæ, where upwards of twenty thousand persons, at a public diversion of gladiators, had been killed by the fall of the amphitheatre, he passed over again to the continent, and gave all people free access to him; so much the more, because, at his departure from the city, he had by proclamation forbid any one to disturb him, and declined all company upon the road.

XLI. Returning to the island, he so far laid aside all care of the government, that he never filled up the decuriæ of the knights, never changed any military Tribunes nor commanders of horse, nor governors of provinces, and kept Spain and Syria for several years without any Consular lieutenants. He likewise suffered Armenia

menia to be seized by the Parthians, Mœsia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans, to the great disgrace, and no less danger of the empire.

XLII. But having now the advantage of privacy, and being remote from the observation of the people of Rome, he abandoned himself to all the vicious propensities, which he had long but imperfectly concealed; and of which I shall here give a particular account from the beginning. While a young foldier in the camp, he was so remarkable for his excessive inclination to wine, that, for *Tiberius*, they called him *Biberius*; for *Claudius*, *Caldius*; and for *Nero*, *Mero*. And after he came to the empire, and had upon him the charge of reforming the public manners, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus, and L. Piso, to one of whom he immediately gave the province of Syria, and to the other the Præfecture of the city; declaring them, in his patents, to be “very pleasant companions, and always agreeable.” He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus, a lewd prodigal old fellow, who had been disgraced by Augustus, and reprimanded by himself but a few days before in the Senate-house; upon condition that he should not recede in the least from his usual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the Quæstorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off, in pledging him at table, an amphora of wine at a draught*. He presented Asellius Sabinus with

* That any man could drink an *Amphora* of wine at a draught, is beyond all credibility; for the *Amphora* was near-

with two hundred thousand sesterces, for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the mushroom and the fig-pecker, the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office for the advancement of his pleasures, into which he put Titus Cæsonius Priscus, a Roman knight.

XLIII. In his recess at Capreæ, he contrived an apartment for the practice of abominable lewdness; where he entertained companies of girls and catamites, and the devisers of a monstrous kind of copulation, whom he called *Spintriæ*, that defiled one another in his presence, to inflame by the sight the languid appetite. He had several chambers set round with pictures and statues in the most lascivious attitudes, and furnished with the books of Elephantis; that none might want a pattern for the execution of any lewd project that was prescribed him. He likewise contrived in woods and groves recesses for the like lustful gratifications; where young persons of both sexes prostituted themselves in caves and hollow rocks, in the disguise of Pans and Nymphs*. So that he was openly and commonly called, in allusion to the name of the island, *Caprineus*.

XLIV. But he was still more infamous, if possible, for an abomination not fit to be mentioned, or heard, much

ly equal to nine gallons, English measure. The probability is, that the man had emptied a large vessel, which was shaped like an *Amphora*.

* Pan, the God of the shepherds, and inventor of the flute, was said to be the son of Mercury and Penelope. He was worshipped chiefly in Arcadia, and represented with horns and goat's feet. The Nymphs, as well as the Graces, were represented naked.

less credited,

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* * * * * When a picture, executed by the hand of Parrhasius, in which the artist had represented Atalanta as acting a most unnatural piece of obsequiousness to Meleager, was left him for a legacy, with this proviso, that if he did not like the picture, he might receive in lieu of it a million of sesterces, he not only gave preference to the former, but hung it up in his bed-chamber. He is reported, likewise, once at a sacrifice, to have been so captivated with the face of a youth attending with a censor, that, before the service was well over, he took him aside and abused him; as also a brother of his that played at the sacrifice upon the flute; and soon after broke the legs of both of them, for upbraiding one another with their shame.

XLV. How much he was guilty of abusing, in a most unnatural way, women, and those too of the first quality, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, whom, being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to comply with his lust, he delivered up to the common practitioners in the business of information. When she was upon her trial, he frequently called out to her, and asked her, “Do you repent?” until she, quitting the court, went home, and stabbed herself; openly upbraiding the vile old lecher for his abominable practice. Hence an allusion to him in a farce, which was acted at the next public sports, was received with great applause, and became a common topic of ridicule.

XLVI. He was of so niggardly and tenacious a temper,

per, that he never allowed to those who attended him in his travels or expeditions, any wages, but their diet only. He gave them once indeed, and but once, an instance of generosity, at the instigation of his step-father; when dividing them into three distinct classes, according to their quality, he gave the first six, the second four, and the third two hundred thousand sesterces, which last class he called by the name, not of friends, but Greeks.

XLVII. During the whole time of his government, he never erected any noble edifice; for what alone of that kind he did undertake, as the temple of Augustus, and the rebuilding of Pompey's Theatre, he left at last, after many years, unfinished. Nor did he ever entertain the people with public sports and diversions; and was seldom present at those which were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him; especially after he was obliged to manumise the comedian Actius. Having relieved the poverty of a few Senators, that he might not do the same for many more of them, he declared, he should for the future relieve none, but such as gave the house full satisfaction with regard to the cause of their necessity. Upon this, most of the needy Senators, from modesty and shame, declined troubling him. Amongst these was Hortalus, grandson to the celebrated orator Hortensius, who, at the persuasion of Augustus, had brought up four children upon a very small estate.

XLVIII. He displayed only two instances of his public bounty. One was an offer to lend gratis for three years a hundred millions of sesterces to such as wanted to borrow; and the other, when some large houses being burnt down upon mount Cœlius, he indemnified the owners. To the former of these he was obliged by the clamors of the people,

people, in a great scarcity of money ; when an act of the Senate, passed upon a motion of his, to oblige all usurers to lay out two thirds of their money in land, and the debtors to pay in the like proportion of their debts, was found insufficient to remedy the grievance. The other he did to qualify in some degree the severity of his government. The benefaction to the sufferers by fire, he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered mount Cœlius to be called for the future Augustus. To the soldiery, after his doubling to them the legacy left by Augustus, he never gave any thing, except a thousand denarii a man to the guards, for not joining the party of Sejanus ; and some presents to the legions in Syria, because they alone had not worshipped the effigies of Sejanus amongst their standards. He very seldom would discharge the veteran soldiers, in hopes of saving, by their dying in the service (which from their age there was a prospect of happening soon), the præmiums which would have been due upon their discharge. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by any act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been destroyed by an earthquake.

XLIX. In a little time his disposition broke forth into open rapine. It is certain that Cn. Lentulus the Augur, a man of vast estate, was so terrified and teased by his threats and importunities, that he was obliged to leave him his heir ; and that Lepida, a lady of a very noble family, was condemned by him, to gratify Quirinus, a man of Consular rank, extremely rich and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and then charged her with an old design to poison him. Several persons, likewise, of the first distinction in Gaul, Spain, Syria, and Greece, had their estates confiscated upon such despicably trifling and shameless pretences, that against some of them

no other charge was preferred, than their having too great a part of their estates in money. Old immunities, the right of digging mines, and exacting duties, were taken from several cities and private persons. And Vonones, king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a great deal of treasure, to put himself under the protection of the Roman people, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and afterwards murdered.

L. He first discovered a hatred towards his relations in the case of his brother Drusus, by producing a letter in which he (Drusus) made a proposal to him, to oblige Augustus by force to restore the public liberty. Soon after, he betrayed the same disposition with regard to the rest of his family. So far was he from showing any civility or kindness to his wife, who had been banished, and by the order of her father confined to one town, that he forbid her to stir out of the house, or converse with any company. He even deprived her of the property allowed her by her father, and of her yearly income, under pretence of law; because Augustus had not secured them to her in his will. Being weary of his mother Livia, as claiming an equal share of the government with him, he frequently declined seeing her, as also all long and private conferences with her, lest it should be thought that he was governed by her counsel, which yet he sometimes wanted, and likewise made use of. He was much offended at the Senate, when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the son of Livia, as well as Augustus. On which account, he suffered her not to be called "the Parent of her Country," nor to receive any extraordinary honor from the public. Nay he frequently admonished her "not to meddle with weighty affairs, and such as did not suit her

flex ;” especially when he found her appear at a fire which broke out near the Temple of Vesta, and encouraging the people and soldiers to work hard, as she had been used to do in the time of her husband.

LI. He afterwards proceeded to an open rupture with her, and, as is said, upon this occasion. She having been several times extremely urgent with him to choose amongst the judges one that had been made free of the city, he refused to do it, unless she would allow this reason for it to be put down in the list of the judges’ names, “ That the appointment had been extorted from him by his mother.” Livia, enraged at this procedure, produced some letters from Augustus to her, relative to the sourness and insolence of his temper, and read them. So much was he offended at these letters having been kept so long, and now produced with so much bitterness against him, that some consider this incident as the principal occasion of his retiring. During the whole three years she lived after, he saw her but once, and that for a few hours only. When she fell sick, which happened in a short time subsequent to the interview, he would not visit her ; and when she was dead, he kept those about her so long in expectation of his coming, that the body was become putrefied before the interment ; and he then forbid her to be enrolled amongst the Gods, pretending her own order to that purpose. He likewise abrogated her will, and in a short time ruined all her friends and acquaintance ; not sparing those to whom, on her death-bed, she had recommended the care of her funeral, condemning one of them, a man of Equestrian rank, to the drudgery of drawing water in a crane,

LII. He entertained no paternal affection either for
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his own son Drusus, or his adopted son Germanicus. Offended at the vices of the former, who led a dissolute life, he was not much affected at his death, but, almost immediately after the funeral, resumed his usual occupations, and obliged the public to do the same. The ambassadors of the Illyrians coming, after a considerable interval, with their compliments of condolence on this occasion, the memory of which being now much dissipated, he said to them by way of banter, "And I heartily condole with you in regard to the loss of your excellent countryman Hector." He so much affected to depreciate Germanicus, that he would speak of his great achievements as utterly insignificant, and rail at his most glorious victories as ruinous to the public; complaining of him to the Senate for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occasion of a great and sudden famine at Rome. It is believed that he took care to have him dispatched by Cn. Piso, the lieutenant of Syria. This person was afterwards tried for the murder, and would, as was supposed, have produced his orders, had they not contained a positive injunction to secrecy. The following words therefore were posted up in many places, and frequently bawled out in the night: "Give us Germanicus again." This suspicion he afterwards confirmed by the barbarous treatment of his wife and children.

LIII. His daughter-in-law Agrippina, after the death of her husband, complaining upon some occasion with more than ordinary freedom, he took her by the hand, and addressed her in a Greek sentence to this effect: "My dear child, do you think yourself injured, because the government is not in your hands?" Nor did he ever speak to her after. Upon her refusing once at supper to taste some fruit which he presented to her, he declined inviting her to
his

his table ; pretending that she in effect charged him with a design to poison her ; whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own. He was to offer the fruit, and she to be privately cautioned against it, as what would infallibly be her death. At last, charging her, without any foundation, with a design to fly to the statue of Augustus, or the army, he banished her to Pandataria. Upon her reviling him for it, he, by means of a Centurion, beat out one of her eyes : and when she resolved to starve herself to death, he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her throat. But she persisting in her resolution, and dying soon after, he persecuted her memory with the basest aspersions, and advised the Senate to put her birth-day amongst the number of unlucky days in the Calendar. He likewise accounted it a favor that he had not thrown her body upon the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and suffered a vote of the house to pass, to thank him for his clemency, and a present in gold to be made to Jupiter Capitolinus upon the occasion.

LIV. He had by Germanicus three grandsons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius, and by his son Drusus, one named Tiberius. Of these, after the loss of his sons, he recommended Nero and Drusus to the Senate ; and at their being solemnly introduced into the Forum, he distributed money among the people. But when he found that vows had been offered up by the magistrates in the beginning of the year for their health, he told the Senate, “ Such honors ought not to be conferred but upon those who had been tried, and were advanced in age.” Having thus betrayed his secret disposition towards them, he occasioned their being persecuted with a variety of information against them ; and after practising many artifices to provoke them to rail at and abuse him, that he might be furnished
with

with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the Senate; at the same time accusing them, in the bitterest terms, with the most scandalous vices. Upon their being declared enemies by the Senate, he starved them to death; Nero in the island of Pontia, and Drusus in the lower part of the Palatium. It is thought by some, that Nero was put upon making away with himself, by the executioner's shewing him some halters and hooks, as if sent to him by the order of the Senate. Drusus, it is said, was so rabid with hunger, that he attempted to eat the stuffing of his bed. The relics of both were so dispersed, that it was with difficulty they were collected.

LV. Besides his old friends, and intimate acquaintance, he demanded the assistance of twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, as counsellors in the administration of public affairs. Out of all this number, scarcely two or three escaped the fury of his savage disposition. All the rest he destroyed upon one pretence or another; and amongst them *Ælius Sejanus*, whose fall was attended with the ruin of many others. He had advanced this minister to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much from any real regard for him, as that by his base and sinister contrivances, he might ruin the children of *Germanicus*, and thereby secure the succession to his own grandson by *Drusus*.

LVI. He treated with no greater mildness the Greeks in his family, even those with whom he was most pleased. Having asked one *Zeno*, upon his talking somewhat obscurely, "What offensive dialect is that?" he replied, "the Doric." For this answer he banished him to *Cinaria*, upon a suspicion that he upbraided him with his former

former residence at Rhodes, where the Doric dialect is used. It being his custom to start questions at supper, such as the authors he had been reading in the day furnished him with, and finding that Seleucus the grammarian used to enquire of those who attended him, what authors he read every day, and so came prepared for his interrogatories; he first turned him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himself.

LVII. His cruel and fullen temper appeared in him when he was a boy; which Theodorus of Gadara, his master in Rhetoric, first discovered, and expressed by a very apposite simile, calling him now and then, in reprimanding him, "Dirt mixed with blood." But his disposition appeared still more evidently upon his attaining to the imperial power, and even in the beginning of his administration, whilst he was endeavoring to gain the favor of the people, by affecting moderation. Upon a funeral passing by, a wag called out to the dead man; "Tell Augustus, that the legacies he left to the commonalty are not yet paid." This man he ordered to be brought before him, to receive what was due to him, and then to be led to execution, that he might deliver the message to his father himself. Not long after, when one Pompey, a Roman knight, denied something in opposition to him in the Senate, he threatened to put him in prison, and told him, "Of a Pompey I shall make a Pompeian of you;" by a bitter kind of pun playing upon the man's name, and the ill fortune of the party.

LVIII. About the same time, when the Prætor consulted him, whether it was his pleasure that the courts should sit upon accusations of treason against his person, he re-

plied, "The laws ought to be put in execution;" and he did put them in execution most severely. Some person had taken off the head of Augustus from a statue of him, and put another upon it. The affair was brought before the Senate; and because the case was not clear, some were examined by torture concerning it. The party accused being found guilty, and condemned, this kind of process grew to such a height, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change his cloaths, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamped, upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house, or the stews; or to reflect upon any thing that had been either said or done by him. In fine, a person was condemned to death, for suffering some honors to be decreed to him in the colony where he lived, upon the same day on which they had formerly been decreed to Augustus.

LIX. He was besides guilty of many barbarous actions, under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners, but more to gratify his own savage disposition. In verses in which his cruelties were lampooned, the authors displayed the present calamities of his reign, and anticipated the future.

Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam ?

Dispeream si te mater amare potest.

Non es eques. quare ? non sunt tibi millia centum :

Omnia si quæras, et Rhodos exilium est.

Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar :

Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt.

Fasidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem :

Tam bibit hunc avidè, quam bibit ante merum.

Adspice felicem sibi non tibi, Romule, Sullam :

Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.

Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis

Nec semel infectas adspice cæde manus.

Et

Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

Obdurate wretch ! too fierce, too fell to move
The least kind yearnings of a mother's love !
No knight thou art, as having no estate ;
Long suffered'st thou in Rhodes an exile's fate.
No more the happy Golden Age we see ;
The Iron's come, and sure to last with thee.
Instead of wine he thirsted for before,
He wallows now in floods of human gore.
Reflect, ye Romans, on the dreadful times,
Made such by Marius, and by Sylla's crimes.
Reflect how Antony's ambitious rage
Twice scar'd with horror a distracted age.
And say, Alas ! Rome's blood in streams will flow,
When banish'd miscreants rule this world below.

At first he would have it understood, that these satirical reflexions proceeded from the resentment of those who were impatient under the discipline of reformation, rather than their real sentiments ; and he would frequently say, " Let them hate me, so long as they do but approve my conduct." At length however, his behaviour showed, that he was sensible they were too well founded.

LX. A few days after his arrival at Capreæ, a fisherman coming up to him unexpectedly as he was alone, and presenting him with a large barbel, he ordered the man's face to be scrubbed with the fish ; being terrified at the thought of his having been able to make his way to him over such rugged and steep rocks. The man, while undergoing the punishment, expressing his joy, that he had not likewise presented him with a large crab which he had taken, he ordered his face to be farther lacerated with the claws of that creature. He punished a soldier of the guards with death, for having stolen a peacock

out of his garden. His chair, as he was travelling, being obstructed by some bushes in the road, he ordered the person that had been sent before to examine the road, who was a Centurion of the first rank, to be laid on his face upon the ground, and to be whipped almost to death.

LXI. Soon after, he abandoned himself to every species of cruelty, never wanting occasion of one kind or other, to serve as a pretext. He first fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother, then those of his grandsons, and his daughter-in-law, and lastly those of Sejanus; after whose death he became cruel in the extreme. From this it appeared, that he had not been so much instigated by Sejanus, as supplied with occasions of gratifying his savage temper, when he wanted them. Though in a short memoir which he composed of his own life, he had the effrontery to write, "I have punished Sejanus, because I found him bent upon the destruction of the children of my son Germanicus," one of these he put to death, when he was now become jealous of Sejanus; and another, after he was taken off. It would be tedious to relate all the numerous instances of his cruelty: suffice it to give a few examples, in their different kinds. Not a day passed without the punishment of some unfortunate person or other, not excepting holidays, or those appropriated to the worship of the Gods. Some were punished in the beginning of the new year. Many were accused and condemned in conjunction with their wives and children; and for such as were sentenced to death, the relations were forbid to mourn. Considerable rewards were voted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the witnesses likewise. The information of any person, without exception, was taken; and all offences were

were capital, even the speaking of a few words, though without any ill intention. A poet was impeached for abusing Agamemnon ; and a historian, for calling Brutus and Cassius “ the last of the Romans.” The two authors were immediately put to death, and their writings suppressed ; though they had been well received some years before, and read in the hearing of Augustus. Some, who were thrown into prison, were not only denied the solace of study, but debarred from all company and conversation. Many persons, when summoned to trial, stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the distress and ignominy of a public condemnation, which they were certain would ensue. Others took poison in the Senate-house. Amongst the former, the wounds of such as had not expired were bound up, and they were all carried, half-dead, and panting for life, to prison. All that were put to death, were thrown down the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and then dragged into the Tiber. In one day, twenty were treated in this manner ; and amongst them boys and women. Because, according to an ancient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled. Such as were desirous to die, were forced to live. For he thought death so slight a punishment, that upon hearing that one Carnulius, who was under prosecution, had killed himself, he exclaimed, “ Carnulius has escaped me.” In calling over his prisoners, when one of them requested the favor of a speedy death, he replied, “ I am not friends with you yet.” A man of Consular rank writes in his Annals, that at table, where a large company and he himself was present, he was on a sudden and aloud asked by a dwarf who stood by, amongst the buffoons that attended, why Paconius, who was under a prosecution for treason, lived so long. Tiberius im-

diately reprimanded him for his pertness ; but wrote to the Senate a few days after, to proceed without delay to the punishment of Paconius.

LXII. Exasperated by an information about the death of his son Drusus, he carried his cruelty still farther. He imagined he had died of a disease occasioned by his intemperance ; but finding that he had been poisoned by the contrivance of his wife Livilla and Sejanus, he spared no person, but tortured and put to death, without mercy. He was so entirely occupied with the examination of this affair, for whole days together, that, upon being informed that a gentleman of Rhodes, in whose house he had lodged, and whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome, was arrived, he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture, as if he had been a party concerned in that transaction. Upon finding his mistake, he commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publish the injury done him. The spot on which he was executed is still shown at Capreae, where he ordered such as were condemned to die, after long and exquisite tortures, to be thrown, before his eyes, from a precipice into the sea. There a party of soldiers belonging to the fleet, waited for them, and broke their bones with poles and oars, lest they should have any life left in them. Amongst various kinds of torture invented by him, one was, to persuade people to drink a large quantity of wine, and then to tie up their members tight with strings, to torment them at once by the constriction of the ligature, and the stoppage of their urine. Had not death prevented him, and Thrasyllus, designedly, as some say, prevailed with him to defer some of his cruel projects, in hopes of longer life, it is believed that he would have destroyed many more ; and not have spared
even

even the rest of his grandchildren : for he was jealous of Caius, and hated Tiberius as having been conceived in adultery. This conjecture is indeed highly probable ; for he used often to say, “ Happy Priam, who survived his whole family !

LXIII. Amidst these transactions, how fearful and apprehensive, as well as odious and detestable he lived, is evident from many indications. He forbid the soothsayers to be consulted in private, and without some witnesses being present. He attempted to suppress the oracles in the neighbourhood of the city ; but being terrified by the manifest appearance of a divine authority in that of Præneste, he abandoned the design. For though the lots were sealed up in a box, and carried to Rome, yet they were not to be found in it, until it was returned to the temple. Two men of Consular rank, whom he had appointed governors of provinces, he never durst let go upon their respective destinations, but kept them until several years after, when he nominated successors, being then present upon the spot with him. In the meantime, they bore the titles of their office ; and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.

LXIV. He never removed his daughter-in-law, or grandson, after their condemnation, to any place but in chains, and a close chair, with a guard to hinder all that met them on the road, from standing to gaze at them.

LXV. After Sejanus had formed his design against him, though he saw that his birth-day was solemnly kept by the public, and golden images of him worshipped every where, yet it was with difficulty at last, and more

by artifice, than his imperial authority, that he effected his death. In the first place, to remove him from about his person, under a pretext of doing him honor, he made him his colleague in his fifth Consulship; which, though then absent from the city, he took upon him for that purpose, a long time after his preceding Consulship: and having flattered him with the hopes of a match with a lady of his own kindred, and the Tribunitian authority, he all on a sudden, while Sejanus little expected it, charged him with treason, in an abject miserable address to the Senate, in which, amongst other things, he begged them "To send one of the Consuls, to fetch himself, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of soldiers." Still distrustful, however, and apprehensive of a public insurrection, he ordered his grandson Drusus, whom he kept confined at Rome, to be set at liberty, if occasion required, to head the troops, and such as might appear in his support. He had likewise ships in readiness, to transport him to any of the legions to which he might think proper to apply. Meanwhile, he was upon the watch, on the top of a very high rock, for the signals which he had ordered to be given, as any thing happened, lest the messengers should be tardy. But though he had now quite defeated the designs of Sejanus against him, he was nevertheless still haunted as much as ever with fears and apprehensions; insomuch that he never once stirred out of the Villa Jovis for nine months after.

LXVI. To the extreme anxiety of mind which he now experienced, he had the mortification to find super-added the most poignant reproaches from all quarters. Those who were condemned to die, heaped upon him the most opprobrious language in his face, or by libels scattered

scattered in the Senators' seats in the theatre; with which he was differently affected. Sometimes he wished, out of shame, to have all smothered and concealed: at other times he would slight what was said, and publish it himself. To this accumulation of scandal and open sarcasm, there is to be subjoined a letter from Artabanus king of the Parthians, in which he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cowardice and luxury, and advises him to satisfy the furious rage of his own people, which he had so justly excited, by putting an end to his life.

LXVII. At last being quite weary of himself, he intimated his extreme misery, in a letter to the Senate, which began thus: "What to write to you, Conscript Fathers, or how to write, or what not to write at this time, may all the Gods and Goddesses pour upon my head a more terrible vengeance than that which I feel myself daily sinking under, if I can tell." Some are of opinion that he had a foreknowledge of those things, from his skill in the science of divination, and that he knew long before what misery and infamy would at last come upon him; and that for this reason, at the beginning of his reign, he had absolutely refused the title of the "Father of his Country," and the proposal of the Senate to swear to his acts, lest he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found unequal to such extraordinary honors. This indeed may be justly inferred from the speeches which he made upon both those occasions; as when he says, "I shall ever be the same, and shall never change my conduct, so long as I retain my senses; but to avoid giving a bad precedent to posterity, the Senate ought to beware of engaging themselves to maintain the acts of any person whatever, who might by some accident or

other be influenced to alter his conduct." And again: "If ye should at any time entertain a jealousy of my conduct, and entire affection for you, which heaven prevent, by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of *Father* will add no honor to me, but be a reproach to you, for your rashness in conferring it upon me, or inconstancy in altering your opinion of me.

LXVIII. He was in his person large and robust; of a stature somewhat above the common size; broad in the shoulders and chest, and in his other parts proportionable. He used his left hand more readily than his right; and his joints were so strong, that he would bore a fresh sound apple through with his finger, and would wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a fillip. He was of a fair complexion, and had his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family. He had a handsome face, but often full of pimples. His eyes, which were large, had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time, and in the dark, but for a short time only, and immediately after awaking from sleep; for they soon grew dim again. He walked with his neck stiff and unmoved, commonly with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent: when he spoke to those about him, it was very slowly, and generally accompanied with an effeminate motion of his fingers. All those things being disagreeable, and expressive of arrogance, Augustus remarked in him, and often endeavored to excuse to the Senate and people, assuring them that "they were natural defects, which proceeded from no viciousness of mind." He enjoyed a good state of health, and
without

without any interruption, almost during the whole time of his government ; though, from the thirtieth year of his age, he managed himself in respect of his health according to his own discretion, without any medical assistance.

LXIX. In regard to the Gods, and matters of religion, he discovered much indifference ; being greatly addicted to astrology, and full of a persuasion that all things were governed by fate. Yet he was extremely afraid of lightning, and in cloudy weather always wore a laurel crown on his head ; because an opinion prevails among many, that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the lightning.

LXX. He applied himself with great diligence to the liberal arts, both Greek and Latin. In his Latin style, he affected to imitate Messala Corvinus, a respectable old man, whose company he had much frequented in his youth. But he rendered his style obscure, by excess of affectation and niceness ; so that he was thought to talk better extempore, than in a premeditated discourse. He composed likewise a Lyric Ode, under the title of “ A Lamentation upon the Death of L. Cæsar,” as also some Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rianus, and Parthenius. These poets he greatly admired, and set up their works and statues in the public libraries, amongst the eminent authors of antiquity. On this account, most of the learned men of the time vied with each other in publishing observations upon them, which they addressed to him. What he chiefly attended to was the knowledge of the fabulous history ; and this he prosecuted with a zeal that might justly be deemed ridiculous. For he used to try the grammarians, a class of people
which

which I have already observed he much affected, with such questions as these : “ Who was Hecuba’s mother ? What had been Achilles’s name amongst the young women ? What song were the Sirens used to sing ? ” And the first day that he entered the Senate-house, after the death of Augustus, as if he intended to pay a respect both to the memory of his father, and the Gods, in imitation of Minos upon the death of his son, he made an offering of frankincense and wine, but without any music,

LXXI. Though he was ready and conversant with the Greek tongue, yet he did not use it every where, but chiefly declined it in the Senate-house ; insomuch that having occasion to use the word *monopolium* (monopoly), he first begged pardon for being obliged to trouble the house with a foreign word. And when in a decree of the Senate, the word *emblema* (emblem) was read, he advised to have it changed, and that a Latin word should be substituted in its room ; or, if no proper one could be found, to express the thing in a circumlocutory manner. A soldier who was examined, as a witness upon a trial, in Greek, he would not allow to make any answer but in Latin.

LXXII. During the whole time of his recess at Capræ, he attempted only twice to come to Rome. Once he came in a galley as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all who should offer to come to meet him. And a second time he advanced along the Appian way, within seven miles of the city ; but taking only a view of the walls at a distance, he immediately returned. For what reason he came not to the town, upon his progress up the Tiber, is uncertain ; but in the latter excursion, he

he was deterred by a prodigy. He used to divert himself with a snake, which going to feed with his own hand, according to his custom, he found it devoured by ants, and was therefore advised to beware of the fury of the mob. On this account, returning in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Aftura ; but recovering a little, went on to Circeii. And to obviate any suspicion of his being in a bad state of health, he was not only present at the diversions of the camp, but encountered in person, from an eminence, with javelins, a wild boar, which was let out for the purpose. Being immediately seized with a pain in the side, and catching cold upon his overheating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was at first. He held out however for some time ; and failing as far as Misenum, omitted nothing in his usual manner of life, not even his entertainments, nor other pleasures, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles, a physician, having obtained leave to retire some time from court, at his rising from table, seized his hand to kiss it ; upon which Tiberius, supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and take his place again, and continued the entertainment longer than usual. At last, however, according to his usual practice, he stood up in the middle of the room, with an officer attending, and took leave of every one in the company by name.

LXXIII. Meanwhile, finding upon a perusal of the acts of the Senate, “ that some persons under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing,” concerning whom he had written but very briefly, mentioning no more than that they had only been named by an informer ; complaining in a great rage that he

was

was treated with contempt, he resolved at all events to return to Capreæ; not daring to attempt any thing upon the occasion but in a place of security. But being detained by storms, and the violence of the disease, which encreased upon him, he died soon after, at a country-seat belonging to Lucullus, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, upon the seventeenth of the Calends of April, when Cn. Acerro-nius Proculus and C. Pontius Niger were Consuls. Some are of opinion that a slow-consuming poison was given him by Caius. Others say, that during the intermission of a fever with which he happened to be seized, upon asking for food, it was denied him. Others report, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him, at his recovering from a swoon, and calling for his ring, which had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, “That finding himself a-dying, he took his ring off his finger, and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to somebody; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time, with his hand clinched, and without stirring: when suddenly calling upon his attendants, and no person making answer, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down a little way from his bed.

LXXIV. Upon his last birth-day, he had brought a large beautiful statue of Apollo of Temenis from Syracuse, with the view of placing it in the library of the new temple, which had been built for that God; but dreamt that he appeared to him, and assured him “that his statue could not be erected by him.” A few days before he died, the watch-tower of Capreæ fell down. And at Misenum, some embers and coals, which were brought in to warm his parlour, went out, and after being

being quite cold, burst out into a flame again in the evening, and continued burning very bright for several hours.

LXXV. The people rejoiced so much at his death, that, upon the first news of it, they ran up and down the city, some crying out, " Away with Tiberius into the Tiber ;" others exclaiming, " May the earth, the common mother of mankind, and the infernal Gods, allow no place for the dead, but amongst the wicked." Others threatened his body with the hook and the Scalæ Gemoniæ, their indignation at his former cruelty being encreased by a recent instance of the same kind. It had been provided by an act of the Senate, that the punishment of persons condemned to die should always be deferred until the tenth day after the sentence. Now it happened that the day on which the news of Tiberius's death arrived, was the time fixed by law for the execution of some persons that had been sentenced to die. These poor creatures implored the protection of all about them ; but because Caius was not in town, and there was none else to whom application could be made in their behalf ; the men who were charged with the care of their execution, from a dread of offending against that law, strangled them, and threw them down the Scalæ Gemoniæ. This excited in the minds of the people a still greater abhorrence of the tyrant's memory, since his cruelty subsisted even after his death. As soon as his corpse began to move from Misenum, many cried out for its being carried to Atella, and broiled there in the amphitheatre. It was however brought to Rome, and burnt with the usual ceremony.

LXXVI. He had made about two years before two draughts

draughts of his will, one with his own hand, and the other with that of one of his freedmen; and both were witnessed by some persons of very mean rank. He left his two grandsons, Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, conjunct heirs to his estate; and upon the death of one of them, the other was to inherit the whole. He gave likewise many legacies; amongst which were bequests to the Vestal Virgins, to all the soldiers, to every commoner of Rome, and to the overseers of the several divisions of the city.

AT the death of Augustus, there had elapsed so long a period from the overthrow of the Republic by Julius Cæsar, that few were now living who had been born under the ancient constitution of the Romans; and the mild and prosperous administration of Augustus, during forty-four years, had by this time reconciled the minds of the people to a despotic government. Tiberius, the adopted son of the former sovereign, was of mature age; and though he had hitherto lived, for the most part, abstracted from any concern with public affairs, yet, having been brought up in the family of Augustus, he was acquainted with his method of government, which, there was reason to expect, he would render the model of his own. Livia, too, his mother and the relict of the late emperor, was still living, a woman venerable by years, who had long been familiar with the councils of Augustus, and from her high rank, as well as uncommon affability, possessed an extensive influence amongst all classes of the people.

Such were the circumstances in favor of Tiberius's succession, at the demise of Augustus; but there were others

others of a tendency disadvantageous to his views. His temper was haughty and reserved: Augustus had often apologised for the ungraciousness of his manners: he was disobedient to his mother; and though he had not openly discovered any propensity to vice, he enjoyed none of those qualities which usually conciliate popularity. To these considerations it is to be added, that Postumus Agrippa, the grandson of Augustus by Julia, was living; and if consanguinity was to be the rule of succession, his right was indisputably preferable to that of an adopted son. Augustus had sent this youth into exile a few years before; but, towards the close of his life, had expressed a design of recalling him, with the view, as was supposed, of appointing him his successor. The father of young Agrippa had been greatly beloved by the Romans; and the fate of his mother Julia, though notorious for her profligacy, had ever been regarded by them with peculiar sympathy and tenderness. Many therefore attached to the son the partiality entertained for his parents; which was increased not only by a strong suspicion, but a general surmise, that his elder brothers, Caius and Lucius, had been violently taken off, to make way for the succession of Tiberius. That an obstruction was apprehended to Tiberius's succession from this quarter, is put beyond all doubt, when we find that the death of Augustus was industriously kept secret, until young Agrippa should be removed; who, it is generally agreed, was dispatched by an order from Livia and Tiberius conjointly, or at least from the former. Though by this act there remained no rival to Tiberius, yet the consciousness of his own want of pretensions to the Roman throne, seems to have still rendered him distrustful of the succession; and that he should have quietly obtained it, without the voice of the people, the real inclination of the Senate, or the support

of the army, can be imputed only to the influence of his mother, and his own dissimulation. Ardently solicitous to attain the object, yet affecting a total indifference ; artfully prompting the Senate to give him the charge of the government, at the time that he intimated an invincible reluctance to accept it ; his absolutely declining it in perpetuity, but fixing no time for an abdication ; his deceitful insinuation of bodily infirmities, with hints likewise of approaching old age, that he might allay in the Senate all apprehensions of any great duration of his power, and repress in his adopted son, Germanicus, the emotions of ambition to displace him ; form altogether a scene of the most insidious policy, inconsistency and dissimulation.

In this period died, in the eighty-sixth year of her age, Livia Drusilla, mother of the emperor, and the relict of Augustus whom she survived fifteen years. She was the daughter of L. Drusus Calidianus, and married Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. The conduct of this lady seems to justify the remark of Caligula, that “ she was an Ulysses in a woman’s dress.” Octavius first saw her as she fled from the danger which threatened her husband, who had espoused the cause of Antony ; and though she was then pregnant, he resolved to marry her, whether with her own inclination or not, is left by Tacitus undetermined. To pave the way for this union, he divorced his wife Scribonia, and with the approbation of the Augurs, which he could have no difficulty to obtain, celebrated his nuptials with Livia. There ensued from this marriage no issue, though much desired by both parties ; but Livia retained, without interruption, an unbounded ascendancy over the emperor, whose confidence she abused, while the uxorious husband

husband little suspected that he was cherishing in his bosom a viper who was to prove the destruction of his house. She appears to have entertained a predominant ambition of giving an heir to the Roman empire; and since it could not be done by any fruit of her marriage with Augustus, she resolved on accomplishing that end in the person of Tiberius, the eldest son by her former husband. The plan which she devised for this purpose, was to exterminate all the male offspring of Augustus by his daughter Julia, who was married to Agrippa; a stratagem which, when executed, would procure to Tiberius, through the means of adoption, the eventual succession to the empire. The cool yet sanguinary policy, and the patient perseverance of resolution, with which she prosecuted her design, have seldom been equalled. While the sons of Julia were yet young, and while there was still a possibility that she herself might have issue by Augustus, she suspended her project for some time, in the hope perhaps, that accident or disease might operate in its favor; but when the natural term of her constitution had put a period to her hopes of progeny, and when the grandsons of the emperor were rising into the years of manhood, and had been adopted by him, she began to carry into execution what she long had meditated. The first object devoted to destruction was C. Cæsar Agrippa, the eldest of Augustus's grandsons. This promising youth was sent to Armenia, upon an expedition against the Persians; and Lollius, who had been his governor, either accompanied him thither from Rome, or met him in the East, where he had obtained some appointment. From the hand of this traitor, perhaps under the pretext of exercising the authority of a preceptor, but in reality instigated by Livia, the young prince received a fatal blow, of which he died some time after.

The occasion of Caius's death seems to have been carefully kept from the knowledge of Augustus, who promoted Lollius to the Consulship, and made him governor of a province ; but by his rapacity in this station, he afterwards incurred the emperor's displeasure. The true character of this person had escaped the keen discernment of Horace, as well as the sagacity of the emperor ; for in two Epistles addressed to Lollius, he mentions him as great and accomplished in the superlative degree : *maxime Lolli, liberrime Lolli* ; so imposing had been the manners and address of this deceitful courtier.

Lucius, the second son of Julia, was banished into Campania, for using, as is said, seditious language against his grandfather. In the seventh year of his exile, Augustus proposed to recall him ; but Livia and Tiberius, dreading the consequences of his being restored to the emperor's favor, put in practice the expedient of having him immediately assassinated. Postumus Agrippa, the third son, incurred the displeasure of his grandfather in the same way as Lucius, and was confined at Surrentum, where he remained a prisoner, until he was put to death by the order either of Livia alone, or in conjunction with Tiberius, as was before observed.

Such was the catastrophe, through the means of Livia, of all the grandsons of Augustus ; and reason justifies the inference, that she who scrupled not to lay violent hands upon those young men, had formerly practised every artifice that could operate towards rendering them obnoxious to the emperor. We may even ascribe to her dark intrigues the dissolute conduct of Julia. For the woman who could secretly act as procuress to her own husband, would feel little restraint upon her mind, against corrupt-

ing his daughter, when such an effect might contribute to answer the purpose which she had in view. But in the ingratitude of Tiberius, however undutiful and reprehensible in a son towards a parent, she at last experienced a just retribution for the crimes in which she had trained him, to procure the succession to the empire. To the disgrace of her sex, she introduced amongst the Romans the horrible practice of domestic murder, little known before the times when the thirst or intoxication of unlimited power had vitiated the social affections; and she transmitted to succeeding ages a pernicious example, by which immoderate ambition might be gratified, at the expence of every moral obligation, as well as of humanity.

One of the first victims in the sanguinary reign of the present emperor, was Germanicus, the son of Drusus, Tiberius's own brother, and who had been adopted by his uncle himself. Under any sovereign, of a temper different from that of Tiberius, this amiable and meritorious prince would have been held in the highest esteem. At the death of his grandfather Augustus, he was employed in a war in Germany, where he greatly distinguished himself by his military achievements; and as soon as intelligence of that event arrived, the soldiers, by whom he was extremely beloved, unanimously saluted him emperor. Refusing, however, to accept this mark of their partiality, he persevered in allegiance to the government of his uncle, and prosecuted the war with success. Upon the conclusion of this expedition, he was sent, with the title of Emperor of the East, to repress the seditions of the Armenians, in which he was equally successful. But the fame which he acquired, served only to render him an object of jealousy to Tiberius, by whose order he was secretly poisoned at Daphne, near Antioch, in the thirty-

fourth year of his age. The news of Germanicus's death was received at Rome with universal lamentation; and all ranks of the people entertained an opinion, that, had he survived Tiberius, he would have restored the freedom of the Republic. The love and gratitude of the Romans decreed many honors to his memory. It was ordered, that his name should be sung in the solemn procession of the *Salii*; that crowns of oak, in allusion to his victories, should be placed upon Curule chairs in the hall pertaining to the priests of Augustus; and that an effigy of him in ivory should be drawn upon a chariot, preceding the ceremonies of the Circensian games. Triumphal arches were erected, one at Rome, another on the banks of the Rhine, and a third upon Mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions of his achievements, and that he died for his services to the Republic*."

His obsequies were celebrated, not with the display of images and funeral pomp, but with the recital of his praises, and the virtues which rendered him illustrious. From a resemblance in his personal accomplishments, his age, the manner of his death, and the vicinity of Daphne to Babylon, many compared his fate to that of Alexander the Great. He was celebrated for humanity and benevolence, as well as military talents, and amidst the toils of war, found leisure to cultivate the arts of literary genius. He composed two comedies in Greek, some epigrams, and a translation of Aratus into Latin verse. He married Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa, by whom he had nine children. This lady, who had accompanied her husband into the east, carried his ashes to Italy, and accused his murderer Piso, who, unable to bear up against the public odium incur-

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

red by that transaction, laid violent hands upon himself. Agrippina was now nearly in the same predicament with regard to Tiberius, that Ovid had formerly been in respect of Augustus. He was sensible, that when she accused Piso, she was not ignorant of the person by whom the perpetrator of the murder had been instigated; and her presence, therefore, seeming continually to reproach him with his guilt, he resolved to rid himself of a person become so obnoxious to his sight, and banished her to the island of Pandataria, where she died some time afterwards of famine.

But it was not sufficient to gratify this sanguinary tyrant, that he had, without any cause, cut off both Germanicus and his wife Agrippina: the distinguished merits and popularity of that prince were yet to be revenged upon his children; and accordingly he set himself to invent a pretext for their destruction. After endeavoring in vain, by various artifices, to provoke the resentment of Nero and Drusus against him, he had recourse to false accusation, and not only charged them with seditious designs, to which their tender years were ill adapted, but with vices of a nature the most scandalous. By a sentence of the Senate, which manifested the extreme servility of that assembly, he procured them both to be declared open enemies to their country. Nero he banished to the island of Pontia, where, like his unfortunate mother, he miserably perished by famine; and Drusus was doomed to the same fate, in the lower part of the Palatium, after suffering for nine days the violence of hunger, and having, as is related, devoured part of his bed. The remaining son, Caius, on account of his vicious disposition, he resolved to appoint his successor on the throne, that, after his own death, a comparison might be made in favor of

his memory, when the Romans should be governed by a sovereign, yet more vicious and more tyrannical, if possible, than himself.

Sejanus, the minister in the present reign, imitated with success, for some time, the hypocrisy of his master; and, had his ambitious temper, impatient of attaining its object, allowed him to wear the mask for a longer period, he might have gained the imperial diadem; in the pursuit of which, he was overtaken by that fate which he merited still more by his cruelties than his perfidy to Tiberius. This man was a native of Volturnum in Tuscany, and the son of a Roman knight. He had first insinuated himself into the favor of Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, after whose death he courted the friendship of Tiberius, and obtained in a short time his entire confidence, which he improved to the best advantage. The object which he next pursued, was to gain the attachment of the Senate, and the officers of the army; besides whom, with a new kind of policy, he endeavored to secure in his interests every lady of distinguished connexions, by giving secretly to each of them a promise of marriage, as soon as he should arrive at the sovereignty. The chief obstacles in his way were the sons and grandsons of Tiberius; and them he soon sacrificed to his ambition, under various pretences. Drusus, the eldest of this progeny, having in a fit of passion struck the favorite, was destined by him to destruction. For this purpose, he had the presumption to seduce Livia, the wife of Drusus, to whom she had borne several children; and she consented to marry her adulterer upon the death of her husband, who was soon after poisoned, through the means of an eunuch named Lygdus, by the order of her and Sejanus.

Drusus

Drusus was the son of Tiberius by Vipsania, one of Agrippa's daughters. He displayed great intrepidity during the war in the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia, but appears to have been dissolute in his morals. Horace is said to have written the Ode in praise of Drusus at the desire of Augustus; and while the poet celebrates the military courage of the prince, he insinuates indirectly a salutary admonition to the cultivation of the civil virtues:

*Doctrina sed vim promouet insitam,
Relique cultus pectora roborant:
Ulcunque defecere mores,
Bedecorant bene nata culpa.*

Upon the death of Drusus, Sejanus openly avowed a desire of marrying the widowed princess; but Tiberius opposing this measure, and at the same time recommending Germanicus to the Senate as his successor in the empire, the mind of Sejanus was more than ever inflamed by the united, and now furious passions of love and ambition. He therefore urged his demand with increased importunity: but the emperor still refusing his consent, and things being not yet ripe for an immediate revolt, Sejanus thought nothing so favorable for the prosecution of his designs as the absence of Tiberius from the capital. With this view, under the pretence of relieving his master from the cares of government, he persuaded him to retire to a distance from Rome. The emperor, indolent and luxurious, approved of the proposal, and retired into Campania; leaving to his ambitious minister the whole direction of the empire. Had Sejanus now been governed by common prudence and moderation, he might have attained to the accomplishment of all his wishes: but a natural impetuosity of temper,

temper, and the intoxication of power, precipitated him into measures which soon effected his destruction. As if entirely emancipated from the control of a master, he publicly declared himself sovereign of the Roman empire, and that Tiberius, who had by this time retired to Capreæ, was only the dependent prince of that tributary island. He even went so far in degrading the emperor, as to have him introduced in a ridiculous light upon the stage. Advice of Sejanus's proceedings was soon carried to the emperor in Capreæ; his indignation was immediately excited; and with a confidence founded upon an authority exercised for several years, he sent orders for accusing Sejanus before the Senate. This mandate no sooner arrived, than the audacious minister was deserted by his adherents: he was in a short time after seized without resistance, and strangled in prison the same day.

Human nature recoils with horror at the cruelties of this execrable tyrant, who, having first imbrued his hands in the blood of his own relations, proceeded to exercise them upon the public with indiscriminate fury. Neither age nor sex afforded any exemption from his insatiable thirst of blood. Innocent children were condemned to death, and butchered in the presence of their parents: virgins, without any imputed guilt, were sacrificed to a similar destiny: but there being an ancient custom, of not strangling females in that situation, they were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled; as if an atrocious addition to cruelty could sanction the exercise of it. Fathers were constrained by violence to witness the death of their own children; and even the tears of a mother, at the execution of her child, were punished as a capital offence. Some extraordinary calamities, occasioned by accident, added to the horrors of this

this reign. A great number of houses on mount Cœlius were destroyed by fire; and by the fall of a temporary building at Fidenæ, erected for the purpose of exhibiting public shows, about twenty thousand persons were either greatly hurt, or crushed to death in the ruins.

By another fire which afterwards broke out, a part of the Circus was destroyed, with the numerous buildings on mount Aventine. The only act of munificence displayed by Tiberius during his reign, was upon the occasion of those fires, when, to qualify the severity of his government, he indemnified the most considerable sufferers for the loss they had sustained.

Through the whole of his life, Tiberius seems to have conducted himself with a uniform repugnance to nature. Affable on a few occasions, but in general averse to society, he indulged, from his earliest years, a moroseness of disposition, which counterfeited the appearance of austere virtue; and in the decline of life, when it is common to reform from juvenile indiscretions, he launched forth into excesses, of a kind the most unnatural and most detestable. Considering the vicious passions which had ever brooded in his heart, it may seem surprising, that he restrained himself within the bounds of decency during so many years after his accession: but though utterly destitute of reverence or affection for his mother, he still felt, during her life, a filial awe upon his mind; and after her death, he was actuated by a slavish fear of Sejanus, until at last necessity absolved him likewise from this restraint. These checks being both removed, he rioted without any control, either from sentiment or authority.

Pliny relates, that the art of making glass malleable was actually discovered under the reign of Tiberius, and
that

that the shop and tools of the artist were destroyed, lest, by the establishment of this invention, gold and silver should lose their value. Dion adds, that the author of the discovery was put to death.

The gloom which darkened the Roman capital during this melancholy period, shed a baleful influence on the progress of science throughout the empire, and literature languished during the present reign, in the same proportion as it had flourished in the preceding. It is doubtful whether such a change might not have happened in some degree, even had the government of Tiberius been equally mild with that of his predecessor. The prodigious fame of the writers of the Augustan age, by repressing emulation, tended to a general diminution of the efforts of genius for some time; while the banishment of Ovid, it is probable, and the capital punishment of a subsequent poet, for censuring the character of Agamemnon, operated towards the farther discouragement of poetical exertions. There now existed no circumstance to counterbalance these disadvantages. Genius no longer found a patron either in the emperor or his minister; and the gates of the palace were shut against all who cultivated the elegant pursuits of the Muses. Panders, catamites, assassins, wretches stained with every crime, were the constant attendants, as the only fit companions, of the tyrant who now occupied the throne. We are informed, however, that even this emperor had a taste for the liberal arts, and that he composed a lyric poem upon the death of L. Cæsar, with some Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. But none of these has been transmitted to posterity: and if we should form an opinion of them upon the principle of Catullus, that to be a good poet one ought to be a good man, there is little reason to regret that they have perished.

We

We meet with no poetical production in this reign; and of prose-writers the number is inconsiderable, as will appear from the following account of them.

Velleius Paterculus was born of an Equestrian family in Campania, and served as a military Tribune under Tiberius, in his expeditions in Gaul and Germany. He composed an Epitome of the History of Greece, and of Rome, with

*M. Velleius
Paterculus.*

that of other nations of remote antiquity: but of this work there only remain fragments of the history of Greece and Rome, from the conquest of Perseus, to the seventeenth year of the reign of Tiberius. It is written in two books, addressed to M. Vinicius, who held the office of Consul. Rapid in the narrative, and concise as well as elegant in style, this production exhibits a pleasing epitome of ancient transactions, enlivened occasionally with anecdotes, and an expressive description of characters. In treating of the family of Augustus, Paterculus is justly liable to the imputation of partiality, which he incurs still more in the latter period of his history, by the praise which is lavished on Tiberius and the minister Sejanus. He intimates a design of giving a more full account of the civil war which followed the death of Julius Cæsar; but this, if he ever accomplished it, has not been transmitted to posterity. Candid, but decided in his judgment of motives and actions, if we except his invectives against Pompey, he shows little propensity to censure; but in awarding praise, he is not equally parsimonious, and, on some occasions, risks the imputation of hyperbole. The grace, however, and the apparent sincerity, with which it is bestowed, reconcile us to the compliment. This author concludes his history with a prayer for the prosperity of the Roman empire.

Valerius

Valerius Maximus was descended of a Patrician family ; but we learn nothing more concerning him, than that for some time he followed a military life under Sextus Pompey. He afterwards betook himself to writing, and has left an account, in nine books, of the memorable apophthegms and actions of eminent persons ; first of the Romans, and afterwards of foreign nations. The subjects are of various kinds, political, moral, and natural, ranged into distinct classes. His transitions from one subject to another are often performed with gracefulness ; and where he offers any remarks, they generally show the author to be a man of judgment and observation. Valerius Maximus is chargeable with no affectation of style, but is sometimes deficient in that purity of language which might be expected in the age of Tiberius, to whom the work is addressed. What inducement the author had to this dedication, we know not ; but as it is evident from a passage in the ninth book, that the compliment was paid after the death of Sejanus, and consequently in the most shameful period of Tiberius's reign, we cannot entertain any high opinion of the independent spirit of Valerius Maximus, who could submit to flatter a tyrant, in the zenith of infamy and detestation. But we cannot ascribe the cause to any delicate artifice, of conveying to Tiberius, indirectly, an admonition to reform his conduct. Such an expedient would have only provoked the severest resentment from his jealousy.

Phædrus was a native of Thrace, and was brought to Rome as a slave. He had the good fortune to come into the service of Augustus, where, improving his talents by reading, he procured the favor of the emperor, and was made one of his freedmen. In the reign of Tiberius, he translated into iambic verse
the

the Fables of Æsop. They are divided into five books, and are not less conspicuous for precision and simplicity of thought, than for purity and elegance of style; conveying moral sentiments with unaffected ease, and impressive energy. Phædrus underwent, for some time, a persecution from Sejanus, who, conscious of his own delinquency, suspected that he was obliquely satirised in the commendations bestowed on virtue by the poet. The work of Phædrus is one of the latest which have been brought to light since the revival of learning. It remained in obscurity until two hundred years ago, when it was discovered in a library at Rheims.

Hyginus is said to have been a native of Alexandria, or, according to others, a Spaniard. He was, like Phædrus, a freedman of Augustus; but, though industrious, he seems not to have improved himself so much as his companion, in the art of composition. He wrote, however, a mythological history, under the title of Fables; a work called *Poëticon Astronomicon*, with a treatise on agriculture, commentaries on Virgil, the lives of eminent men, and some other productions now lost. His remaining works are much mutilated, and, if genuine, afford an unfavorable specimen of his elegance and correctness as a writer.

*C. Julius
Hyginus.*

Celsus was a physician in the time of Tiberius, and has written eight books *De Medicina*, in which he has collected and digested into order, all that is valuable on the subject, in the Greek and Roman authors. The professors of medicine were at that time divided into three sects, viz. the Dogmatists, Empirics, and Methodists; the first of whom

*A. Cornelius
Celsus.*

whom deviated less than the others from the plan of Hippocrates: but they were in general irreconcilable to each other, in respect both of their opinions and practice. Celsus, with great judgment, has occasionally adopted particular doctrines from each of them; and whatever he admits into his system, he not only establishes by the most rational observations, but confirms by its practical utility. In justness of remark, in force of argument, in precision and perspicuity, as well as in elegance of expression, he deservedly occupies the most distinguished rank amongst the medical writers of antiquity. It appears that Celsus likewise wrote on agriculture, rhetoric, and military affairs; but of those several treatises no fragment now remains.

To the writers of this reign we must add Apicius Cælius, who has left a book *De Re Coquinaria*, of Cookery. There were three Romans of the name of Apicius, all remarkable for their gluttony. The first lived in the time of the Republic, the last in that of Trajan, and the intermediate Apicius under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius. This man, as Seneca informs us, wasted on luxurious living *sexcenties sestertium*, a sum equal to 484,375 pounds sterling. Upon examining the state of his affairs, he found that there remained no more of his estate than *centies sestertium*, 80,729*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* which seeming to him too small to live upon, he ended his days by poison.

CAIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA.

I. GERMANICUS, the father of C. Cæsar, and son of Drusus and the younger Antonia, was, after his adoption by Tiberius, his uncle, preferred to the Quæstorship five years before he had attained the legal age; and, immediately upon the expiration of that office, to the Consulship. When he was sent to the army in Germany, he quieted the legions, which, upon the news of Augustus's death, obstinately refused to accept of Tiberius for their prince, and offered him the government. In which affair it is difficult to say, whether his regard to filial duty, or the firmness of his resolution, was more conspicuous. Soon after he defeated the enemy, and triumphed upon it. Being then made Consul a second time, before he could enter upon his office, he was obliged to set out suddenly for the east, where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadocia into the form of a province, he died at Antioch of a lingering distemper, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, not without the suspicion of being poisoned. For besides the livid spots which appeared all over his body, and a foaming at the mouth; when his corpse was burnt, the heart was found entire, the nature of which is supposed to be such, as, when tainted by poison, to resist all consumption by fire*.

II. It

* This opinion, like some others which occur in Suetonius,

II. It was a prevailing opinion, that he was taken off by the contrivance of Tiberius, and through the means of Cn. Piso. This person being about the same time made governor of Syria, and declaring openly that he must either offend the father or the son, as if there was an absolute necessity for it, abused Germanicus, at that time sick, in the most scurrilous and extravagant manner, both by words and deeds: for which, upon his return to Rome, he narrowly avoided being torn to pieces by the people, and was condemned to death by the Senate.

III. It is generally agreed, that Germanicus possessed all the noble endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than had ever before fallen to the lot of any man: handfomeness of person, extraordinary courage, great proficiency in the eloquence and other branches of literature both of Greece and Rome; besides a singular humanity, and a behaviour so engaging, as to captivate the affections of all about him. The smallness of his legs did not correspond with the symmetry and beauty of his person in other respects; but this defect was at length corrected by a constant custom of riding after meals. In battle, he frequently encountered and slew the enemy with his own hand. He pleaded causes, even after he had the honor of a triumph. Amongst other fruits of his studies, he left behind him some Greek comedies. Both at home and abroad he always conducted himself in a manner the most unassuming. On entering any free and confederate town, he never would be attended by his Lictors. Whenever he heard in his travels of the sepulchres of famous men, he

tonius, may justly be considered as a vulgar error: and if the heart was found entire, it must have been owing to the weakness of the fire, rather than to any quality communicated, of resisting the power of that element.

paid his respects at them to their memory, by the usual offerings. He buried in one tomb the scattered relics of those who had been slain with Varus, and was the foremost to put his hand to the work of collecting and bringing them to the place of burial. He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, whoever they were, or on what account soever they bore him enmity, that, though Piso cancelled his decrees, and for a long time harassed his dependents extremely, he never showed the smallest resentment, until he found himself attacked by magic charms and imprecations ; and even then he proceeded no farther than to renounce all friendship with him, according to ancient usage, and to recommend to his friends about him the revenge of his death, if he should be cut off by any violence.

IV. He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long time in doubt, whether he should not appoint him his successor, at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular, that many authors tell us, the crowds of those who went to meet him upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life: that upon his return to Germany, after he had quelled the mutinies in the army there, all the battalions of the guards went to meet him, notwithstanding the public order that only two should go for that purpose ; and that all the rest of the people, both men and women, of all ages and conditions, went as far as twenty miles to attend him to town.

V. About the time of his death, however, and after-

wards, they displayed still greater and stronger proofs of their extraordinary attachment towards him. The day on which he died, the temples were stoned, the altars of the Gods demolished, the household Gods were by some thrown into the streets, and new-born infants were exposed. It is even said that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance amongst themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend: that some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings * forbore his exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which, amongst the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us.

VI. At Rome, upon the first news of his sickness, the city was thrown into great consternation and grief, waiting impatiently for farther intelligence; when suddenly, in the evening, a report without any certain author was spread, that he was recovered; upon which the people flocked with torches and victims to the Capitol, and were in such haste to pay the vows they had made for his recovery, that they almost broke open the doors. Tiberius was awakened out of his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing all round:

* The magnificent title of King of Kings has been assumed, at different times, by various potentates. The person to whom it is here applied, is the king of Parthia. Under the kings of Persia, and even under the Syro-Macedonian kings, this country was of no consideration, and reckoned a part of Hyrcania. But upon the revolt of the East from the Syro-Macedonians, at the instigation of Arsaces, the Parthians are said to have conquered eighteen kingdoms.

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Rome is safe, our country safe, Germanicus is so.

But when certain advice came of his death, the mourning of the people could neither be assuaged by consolation, nor restrained by edicts, and it continued during the festival of December. What contributed much to the glory of Germanicus, and the endearment of his memory, was the dismal severity of the subsequent times; all people supposing, and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon after.

VII. He married Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia, by whom he had nine children, two of whom died in their infancy, as did another a few years after; a very sprightly pleasant boy, whose effigy, in the character of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol. Augustus also placed another of him in his bed-chamber, and used to kiss it as often as he entered the apartment. The rest survived their father: three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, who were born successively in three years; and as many sons, Nero, Drusus, and C. Cæsar. Nero and Drusus, at the accusation of Tiberius, were declared enemies to the public.

VIII. Caius Cæsar was born the day preceding the Calends of September, when his father and C. Fonteius Capito were Consuls. But where he was born, is rendered uncertain from the number of places which are said to have given him birth. Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus says that he was born at Tibur; Pliny the younger, in the country of the Treviri, at a village called Ambiatinus, above

Confluentes ; and he alledges, as a proof of it, altars which are there shewn, with this inscription : “ For the Delivery of Agrippina.” Some verses which were published in his reign, intimate that he was born in the winter quarters of the army.

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

Born in the camp, and train'd in ev'ry toil
Which taught his fire the haughtiest foes to foil ;
Destin'd he seem'd by fate to raise his name,
And rule the empire with Augustan fame.

I find in the public registers that he was born at Antium, Pliny charges Gætulicus as guilty of an arrant forgery, merely to sooth the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving a lustre to his birth, from a city sacred to Hercules ; and says that he advanced this lye with the more assurance, because, the year before the birth of Caius, Germanicus had a son of the same name born at Tibur, concerning whose amiable childhood and premature death I have spoken above. Pliny, it is plain, must be mistaken, by the account left us of those times. For the writers of Augustus's history all agree, that Germanicus, at the expiration of his Consulship, was sent into Gaul, after the birth of Caius. Nor will the inscription upon the altar serve to establish Pliny's opinion ; because Agrippina was delivered of two daughters in that country, and any delivery, without regard to sex, is called *puerperium*, on account that the ancients were used to call girls *pueræ*, and boys *puelli*. There is likewise extant a letter of Augustus's, written a few months before his death, to his grand-daughter Agrippina, about the same Caius (for there was then no other child of hers living under that name). He writes as follows : “ Yesterday I gave order for Talarius and Asellius
to

to set out on their journey towards you, if the Gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the Calends of June. I send with him a physician of mine, whom I wrote to Germanicus he may retain if he pleases. Farewell, my dear Agrippina, and take what care you can to come safe and well to your Germanicus." I imagine it is sufficiently evident that Caius could not be born there, whither he was carried from the city when almost two years old. The same considerations must likewise invalidate the authority of the verses, and the rather, because the author is unknown. The only authority therefore, upon which we can depend in respect of this matter, is that of the Acts, and the public register; especially as he always preferred Antium to every other place of retirement, and entertained for it all that fondness which is commonly attached to one's native soil. It is said too, that, upon his growing weary of the city, he designed to have transferred thither the seat of empire.

IX. He acquired the name of Caligula* from the merriment of the soldiers with him in the camp, because he was brought up amongst them in the dress of a common soldier. How much his education amongst them recommended him to their favor and affection, was sufficiently apparent in that furious mutiny of the army upon the death of Augustus, when the sight of him only appeased them. For they persisted in their uproar, until they observed that he was sent off to a neighbouring city, to secure him against all danger. Then at last they began to relent, and, stopping the chariot he was in, earnestly begged

* This name was derived from *Caliga*, a kind of shoe, studded with nails, and chiefly used by the common soldiers in the Roman army.

that they might not be exposed to the general hatred and resentment which by such a proceeding they must incur.

X. He likewise attended his father in his expedition into Syria. After his return, he lived first with his mother, and, when she was banished, with his great-grandmother Livia Augusta; in praise of whom, after her decease, though then only a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostra. He then went into the family of his grandmother Antonia, and afterwards, in the twentieth year of his age, being called by Tiberius to Capreæ, he in one and the same day assumed the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without receiving any of the honors which had been paid to his brothers upon the like occasion. While he remained in that island, many insidious artifices were practised, to extort from him a complaint against Tiberius; but by his circumspection he avoided falling into the snare. He affected to take no more notice of the ill treatment of his relations, than if nothing had befallen them. With regard to his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and behaved with such obsequiousness to his grandfather and all about him, that it was justly said of him, "There never was a better slave, nor a worse master."

XI. But he could not even then conceal his natural disposition to cruelty and lewdness. He was extremely fond of seeing executions, and would stroll about the streets in the night-time, disguised in a periwig and a long coat; and was passionately addicted to the theatrical arts of singing and dancing. All these levities Tiberius readily connived at, in hopes that they might perhaps correct the roughness of his temper, which the sagacious old man so well knew, that he would often declare, "That Caius
lived

lived for the destruction of himself, and mankind; and that he brought up a water-snake for the Roman people, and a Phaeton for the world."

XII. Not long after, he married Junia Claudilla, the daughter of M. Silanus, a man of a very great family. Being then chosen Augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated he was advanced to the Pontificate, with no small commendation of his dutiful behaviour, and great capacity. The situation of the court likewise was at this time favorable to his fortunes: for Sejanus being now suspected, and soon after taken off, a new support was wanted to the administration, and he was by degrees flattered with the hope of succeeding Tiberius in the government. Towards securing more effectually this prospect, upon Junia's dying in child-bed, he engaged in a criminal commerce with Ennia Nævia, the wife of Macro, at that time commander of the guards, promising to marry her if ever he came to the empire; and gave her not only his oath, but a written obligation under his hand, for the accomplishment of that promise. Having by her means insinuated himself into Macro's favor, some are of opinion that he attempted to poison Tiberius, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body; and, because he seemed to hold it fast, a pillow to be thrown upon him, seising and squeezing him by the throat, at the same time, with his own hand. One of his freedmen crying out at the horrid barbarity of this act, he was immediately crucified for it. That such a transaction really took place, is far from being improbable: for some authors relate, that afterwards, though he did not acknowledge his having a hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared he had formerly entertained such a design; and as a
proof

proof of his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, " That, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard, but being seized with a fit of compassion, threw it away, and retired ; and that Tiberius, though sensible enough of the design, yet durst not take any notice of it, nor attempt any mode of revenge."

XIII. Having thus obtained possession of the imperial power, he fulfilled by his elevation the wish of the Roman people, I may venture to say, of mankind. He was long the object of expectation and desire to the greater part of the provincials and soldiers, who had known him when a child ; and to the whole body of the commonalty at Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus his father, and compassion for the family almost entirely destroyed. Upon his moving from Misenum therefore, though he was in mourning, and attended the corpse of Tiberius, yet he made his way amidst altars, victims and lighted flambeaux, with prodigious crowds of people every where attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other auspicious names, by those of their " Star, chicken, pretty puppet, and dear child."

XIV. Upon his entering the city, immediately by the consent of the Senate, and the people who broke into the house, Tiberius's will being set aside, who had left his other grandson, then a minor, joint heir with him, the whole government and administration of affairs was put into his hands ; so much to the joy and satisfaction of the public, that, in less than three months after, above a hundred and sixty thousand victims are said to have been offered in sacrifice. Upon his passing, a few days after, into the islands

islands upon the coast of Campania, vows were made for his safe return; every person emulously testifying their care and concern for his safety. But when he fell ill, the whole body of the people continued all night about the Palatium: some engaged themselves by vow to expose their persons in combat as gladiators, and others, in like manner, to lay down their lives, for his recovery; which they intimated by bills publicly posted up in the city. To this extraordinary love entertained by his countrymen for him, was added an uncommon respect from persons of other nations. For Artabanus, king of the Parthians, who had always manifested a hatred and contempt of Tiberius, solicited his friendship, came to hold a conference with a Consular lieutenant of his, and passing the Euphrates, paid his adoration to the eagles, with the other Roman standards, and the images of Cæsar.

XV. The love and respect which the world displayed towards him, he improved by practising all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered, with abundance of tears, a speech in praise of Tiberius, and interred him with the utmost pomp, he immediately hastened over to Pandataria and the Pontian islands, to bring thence the ashes of his mother and brother; and, to testify the great regard he had for their memory, he performed the voyage in a very tempestuous season. He approached their remains with a profound veneration, and put them into the urns with his own hands. Having brought them in grand solemnity to Ostia, with a streamer upon the stern of his ship, and thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were borne by persons of the first distinction in the Equestrian Order, on two biers, into the mausoleum, at noon-day. He appointed yearly offerings to be solemnly and publicly made in honor of their memory; and to that of his mother

ther Circensian games besides, and a chariot in the procession. The month of September he called Germanicus in honor of his father. By a decree of the Senate, he heaped upon his grandmother Antonia all the honors that ever Livia Augusta had received. His uncle Claudius, who till then had continued in the Equestrian Order, he took for his colleague in the Consulship. He adopted his brother Tiberius on the day he took upon him the manly habit, and conferred upon him the title of "Prince of the Youth." With regard to his sisters, he ordered an addition in all the oaths taken upon his account, in these words : "Nor do I love myself or my own children more dearly than I do Caius and his sisters:" and commanded all proposals of the Consuls to the Senate to be preſaced thus : "May what we are going to offer prove fortunate and happy to C. Cæſar and his sisters." With the like popularity he reſtored ſuch as had been condemned and baniſhed, and granted an act of indemnity for all crimes paſſed. To deliver from all apprehenſion ſuch as had been informers or witneſſes againſt his mother and brothers, he brought all the records or memoirs relating to their trials into the Forum, and then with a loud voice calling the Gods to witneſs that he had not read or meddled with them, he burnt them. A memoir which was offered him relative to his own ſecurity, he would not receive, declaring, "that he had done nothing to render him odious to any body:" and at the ſame time ſaid, "he had no ears for informers."

XVI. The Spintriæ, thoſe practitioners in a monſtrous kind of new-invented lewdneſs, he was indeed prevailed upon not to throw into the ſea, as he had intended ; but he baniſhed them the city. The writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius, and Caſſius Severus, which

had been suppressed by an act of the Senate, he permitted to be drawn from obscurity, and universally read; observing, “that it would be for his own advantage to have the transactions of former times delivered to posterity.” He published accounts of all that passed in the government, a practice which had been introduced by Augustus, but discontinued by Tiberius. He granted the magistrates a full and free jurisdiction, without any appeal to himself. He took a very strict and exact survey of the Equestrian Order, but with a mixture of moderation; taking away openly the horse from each knight who lay under the reproach of any thing base and dishonorable; passing by the names of such knights as were guilty of small faults, in calling over the list of the Order. To ease the judges a little of their fatigue, he added a fifth class to the former four. He attempted likewise to restore the people to their ancient right of voting in the choice of magistrates. He paid very honorably, and without any dispute, the legacies left by Tiberius in his will, though it had been set aside; as likewise those left by the will of Livia Augusta, which Tiberius had suppressed. He remitted the hundredth penny, due to the government in all auctions throughout Italy. He made up to many the loss they had sustained by fire; and if he restored to any princes their kingdoms, he likewise allowed them all the arrears of taxes, or other revenue, during the time of privation; as to Antiochus of Comagene, the confiscation of whose kingdom amounted to a hundred millions of sesterces. To evince to the world, that he was ready to encourage good examples in every kind, he gave to a freedwoman eighty thousand sesterces, for not discovering a crime committed by her patron, though she had been put to exquisite torture for that purpose. For all these acts of beneficence, amongst other honors, a golden shield

was

was decreed to him, which the different companies of priests were to carry annually, upon a fixed day, into the Capitol, with the Senate attending, and the youth of the nobility, of both sexes, celebrating the praise of his virtue in songs. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he began his reign should be called *Palilia*, in token of the city's being at that time as it were new founded*.

XVII. He bore four Consulships: the first from the Calends of July for two months: the second from the Calends of January for thirty days: the third until the Ides of January; and the fourth until the seventh of the same Ides. Of all these, he held the two last successively. The third he entered upon by himself at Lyons; not from any pride, or a disregard to the usage of his country; but because, at that distance, it was impossible for him to know that his colleague died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice distributed to the people three hundred sesterces a man, and as often gave a very plentiful entertainment to the Senate and the Equestrian Order, with their wives and children. In the latter, he presented to the men forensic garments, and to the women and children red scarfs. To make an addition to the public joy for ever, he added to the *Saturnalia* one day, which he called *Juvenalis* †.

XVIII. He

* The city of Rome began to be built on the twenty-first day of April, which was called *Palilia*, from Pales, the Goddess of shepherds, and was ever after kept as a festival.

† The *Saturnalia*, held in honor of Saturn, was, amongst the Romans, the most celebrated festival of the whole year, and kept in the month of December. All orders of the people were then devoted to mirth and feasting; friends sent presents to one another; and masters treated their slaves up-

on

XVIII. He presented some shows of gladiators, partly in the theatre, partly in the amphitheatre of Taurus, and partly in the Septa, with which he intermixed troops of the choicest boxers from Campania and Africa. He did not always preside in person upon those occasions, but sometimes gave a commission to the magistrates or his friends to supply his place. He frequently entertained the people with stage-plays of various kinds, and in several parts of the city, and sometimes by night, with lights set up all over the city. He likewise made scrambles amongst the people, and distributed to every man a basket of bread with other victuals. Upon this occasion, he sent his own share to a Roman knight, who was placed opposite to him, and was eating very heartily. To a Senator, for the same reason, he sent a patent, by which he appointed him, in an extraordinary manner, a Prætor. He likewise exhibited a great number of Circensian games from morning until night; intermixed with the hunting of wild beasts from Africa, or the Trojan game. Some of these games were celebrated with peculiar circumstances; the Circus being overspread with vermilion and chryfocola; and none rode the chariots but those of the Senatorian Order. Some he presented upon the sudden, when upon his viewing from the Gelotiana the furniture of the Circus, he was asked to do so by a few persons from the neighbouring Mæniana.

XIX. He invented besides a new kind of spectacle, and such as had never been heard of before. For he made a bridge, of about three miles and a half in length, from Baiæ to the Moles of Puteoli, drawing together from all on a footing of equality. At first it was held only one day, afterwards three days, and now received farther duration by the order of Caligula.

parts ships of burden, fixing them in two rows by their anchors, and overlaying them with earth, in the form of the Appian way. He passed and repassed this bridge for two days together: the first day mounted upon a horse with accoutrements, wearing on his head a crown of oaken leaves, armed with a battle-ax, light shield and sword, and in a cloak made of cloth of gold: the day following, in the habit of a charioteer, and mounted upon a chariot drawn by two famous horses, having with him a young boy, Darius by name, one of the Parthian hostages, with a body of the guards attending him, and a party of his friends mounted on British chariots. Most people, I know, are of opinion, that this bridge had been projected by Caius, in imitation of Xerxes, who, to the astonishment of the world, laid a bridge over the Hellespont, which is somewhat narrower than the distance betwixt Baiæ and Puteoli; and that others thought he did it to strike a terror into Germany and Britain, which he was upon the point of invading, with the fame of some prodigious work. But I once, when a boy, heard my grandfather say, that the reason assigned by some courtiers who were in the greatest intimacy with him, was this: That when Tiberius was in some anxiety about the nomination of a successor, and more inclined to pitch upon his grandson, Thrasyllus the astrologer had assured him, "That Caius would no more be emperor, than he would ride on horseback over the bay of Baiæ."

XX. He likewise exhibited public diversions in Sicily, Grecian games at Syracuse, and miscellaneous sports at Lugdunum in Gaul: besides a contest for pre-eminence in the Grecian and Roman eloquence; in which we are told that such as were baffled bestowed rewards upon the best performers, and were obliged to compose speeches in
their

their praise : but that those who performed the worst, were forced to blot out what they had written with a sponge or their tongue, unless they chose rather to be beaten with a rod, or plunged over head and ears into the next river.

XXI. He finished the works which were left imperfect by Tiberius, viz. the temple of Augustus, and the theatre of Pompey. He began likewise the aqueduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an amphitheatre near the Septa ; of which works, one was completed by his successor Claudius, and the other remained as he left it. The walls of Syracuse, which by length of time were much decayed, he repaired, as he likewise did the temples of the Gods. He entertained a design to rebuild the palace of Polycrates at Samos, to finish the temple of the Didymæan Apollo at Miletus, and to build a city upon the top of the Alps ; but of all things to make a cut through the Isthmus in Achaia ; and sent a Centurion of the first rank to measure out the work.

XXII. Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince. What remains to be said of him, bespeaks him rather a monster than a man. He assumed a variety of titles, such as “ Dutiful, the Son of the Camp, the Father of the Armies, and the Greatest and the Best Cæsar.” Upon hearing some kings, who came to the city to pay their respects to him, contending amongst themselves at supper, about the nobleness of their birth, he exclaimed, “ Let there be but one prince, one king.” He was strongly inclined to have taken a crown immediately, and to have turned the imperial dignity into the form of a kingdom ; but being told that he far exceeded the grandeur of kings and princes, he began to arrogate to himself a divine majesty.

jefty. He ordered all the images of the Gods, that were famous either for their beauty or the veneration paid them, amongst which was that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own. He carried on a part of the Palatium as far as the Forum; and the temple of Castor and Pollux being converted into a kind of porch to his house, he would often stand betwixt the two brothers, and so present himself to be worshipped by all votaries; some of whom saluted him by the name of *Jupiter Latialis*. He ordered likewise a temple and priests, and the most choice victims for his own godhead. In his temple stood an image of gold, exactly of the same size with himself, and which was every day dressed up in the same sort of garment as what he used. The most opulent persons in the city offered themselves as candidates for the honor of being his priests, and purchased it successively at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, Numidicæ, turkey-hens, and pheasant-hens, each sacrificed on their respective days. In the night he used constantly to invite the moon, when full, to his embraces. In the day-time he talked in private to Jupiter Capitolinus; one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him: sometimes he would talk aloud, and in railing language. For he was over-heard to threaten the God in the following terms:

Εἰς γαίαν Δαναῶν πέραν σε*

Into the land of Greece I will transport thee:

until being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the God, as he said, and being invited to live with him, he made a bridge over the temple of Augustus, by which he joined the Palatium to the Capitol.

XXIII. He

XXIII. He was unwilling to be thought or called the grandson of Agrippa, because of the obscurity of his birth; and he was offended if any one, either in prose or verse, ranked him amongst the Cæsars. He said that his mother was the fruit of an incestuous commerce, maintained by Augustus with his daughter Julia. And not content with this vile reflexion upon the memory of Augustus, he forbid his victories at Actium, and upon the coast of Sicily, to be celebrated, as usual; affirming that they had been of the most pernicious and fatal consequence to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augusta "Ulysses in a woman's dress," and had the indecency to reflect upon her in a letter to the Senate, as of mean birth, and descended, by the mother's side, from a grandfather who was only a member of the council of state at Fundi; whereas it is certain, from authentic documents, that Aufidius Lingo held public offices at Rome. His grandmother Antonia desiring a private conference with him, he denied the request, unless Macro, commander of the guards, might be present. By affronts of this kind, and ill usage, he was the occasion of her death; but, as some think, not without giving her a dose of poison. He paid not the smallest respect to her memory after her death; and gratified himself with beholding, from his parlour, her funeral pile on fire. His brother Tiberius, who had no expectation of any violence, he dispatched, by suddenly sending to him a military Tribune for that purpose. He forced Silanus his father-in-law to kill himself, by cutting his throat with a razor. The pretext he alledged for these murders was, that the latter had not followed him upon putting to sea in stormy weather, but staid behind with the view of seizing the city, if he should have been lost in the voyage. The other, he said, smelt of an antidote, which he had

taken to prevent his being poisoned by him: whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea-sick, and of the trouble of the voyage; and Tiberius had only made use of a medicine for a habitual cough, which was constantly encreasing upon him. As to his successor Claudius, he only saved him to make sport with.

XXIV. He lived in the habit of incest with all his sisters; and at table when much company was present, he placed them every one by turns below him, whilst his wife lay above him. It is believed, that he deflowered one of them, Drusilla, before he had arrived at the age of manhood; and was taken in her embraces by his grandmother Antonia, with whom they were educated together. When she was afterwards married to Cassius Longinus, a man of Consular rank, he took her from him, and kept her openly as his wife. In a fit of sickness, he by his will appointed her heiress of his estate, and the empire likewise. After her death, he ordered a public mourning for her; during which it was capital for any person to laugh, use the bath, or sup with parents, wife, or children. Being inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily, and in the night-time, from the city; going through Campania to Syracuse, and then suddenly returned without shaving his beard, or trimming his hair all that time. Nor did he ever after, in matters of the greatest importance, not even in the assemblies of the people and soldiers, swear any otherwise, than “By the Divinity of Drusilla.” The rest of his sisters he did not treat with so much fondness or regard; but would frequently prostitute them to his catamites. He therefore the more readily condemned them in the case of Æmilius Lepidus, as guilty of adultery, and privy to that conspiracy against him. Nor did he only divulge their own
hand-

hand-writing relative to the affair, which he procured by base and lewd means, but likewise consecrated to Mars the Revenger three swords which had been prepared to stab him, with an inscription, setting forth the occasion of their consecration.

XXV. Whether in the marriage of his wives, in parting with them, or retaining them, he acted with greater infamy, it is difficult to say. Being at the wedding of C. Piso with Livia Orestilla, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own house, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after banished her; because it was thought, that upon her divorce she returned to the embraces of her former husband. Some say, that being invited to the wedding-supper, he sent a messenger to Piso, who sat opposite to him, in these words: "Do not press upon my wife," and that he immediately carried her away with him. Next day he published a proclamation, importing, "That he had got a wife as Romulus and Augustus had done." Lollia Paulina, who was married to a man of Consular rank and a general of the army, he suddenly called from the province where she was with her husband, upon mention made of her grandmother, as formerly a very beautiful woman, and married her, but soon after parted with her; discharging her at the same time from having ever afterwards any commerce with man. He loved with a most passionate and constant affection Cæsonia, who was neither handsome nor young, and was besides the mother of three daughters by another man; but a woman of unbounded luxury and lasciviousness. Her he would frequently show to the soldiers, dressed up in a military cloak, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side. To his friends he showed her naked. After she had a child, he honored her with the title of

wife, in one and the same day, declaring himself her husband, and father of the child of which she was delivered. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the Goddeses, laid it on the lap of Minerva; to whom he recommended the care of bringing up and instructing her. He considered her as his own child for no other reason, so much as the savage cruelty of her temper, which was such even in her infancy, that she would attack with her nails the face and eyes of the children at play with her.

XXVI. It would be frivolous and disgusting to add to all this an account of the manner in which he treated his relations and friends; as Ptolemy, king Juba's son, his cousin (for he was the grandson of M. Antony by his daughter Selene), and especially Macro himself, and Ennia likewise, by whose assistance he had obtained the empire; all whom, for their alliance and eminent services, he rewarded with a violent death. Nor was he more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the Senate. Some who had borne the highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his chaise in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins. Others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he would nevertheless continue to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended that they had laid violent hands upon themselves. The Consuls forgetting to give notice by proclamation of his birth-day, he displaced; and the government was for three days without any to fill that high office. A Quæstor who was said to be concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having first stripped off his cloaths, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the
work,

work, that they might stand the more firm. The other Orders likewise he treated with the same insolence and violence. Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places in the Circus, which they were to have gratis, he drove them all away with clubs; in the hurry and confusion occasioned by which, above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death, with as many married women, besides a great number of other people. When stage-plays were acted, he would, to occasion a dispute between the commonalty and the Equestrian Order, scatter the money-tickets sooner than usual, that the seats assigned to the knights might be all seized by the mob. In the show of gladiators, sometimes, when the fun was violently hot, he would order the cover of the theatre to be taken off, and forbid any person to be let out: withdrawing at the same time the usual apparatus for the entertainment, and presenting wild beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only for the pegma, besides noted house-keepers, such however as were remarkable for some bodily infirmity. Sometimes shutting up the public granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

XXVII. He evinced the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following indications. When cattle was only to be had at a high price, for the feeding of his wild beasts designed for the diversion of the public, he ordered that criminals should be made use of for that purpose; and upon taking a view of his prisoners who were drawn up in a row before him, without troubling himself to examine the cause of commitment of any one of them, only standing in the middle of the portico where they were, he ordered them to be led away to execution, from “bald pate to bald-pate.” Of one who had engaged him-

self to expose his life as a gladiator for his recovery, he exacted the performance of his vow ; nor would he allow him to desist from the combat, until he came off conqueror, and after a great many entreaties. Another who had vowed to sacrifice his life upon the same account, but felt some backwardness to the performance, he delivered, dressed up with sacred leaves and ribbons, to some boys, who were to drive him along the streets, demanding from him the accomplishment of his vow, until he was thrown head-long from the town rampart. After deforming many persons of honorable rank, by branding them in the face with hot irons, he condemned them to the mines, to work in the repairing of high-ways, or to fighting with wild beasts ; or tying them by the neck and heels, in the manner of beasts carrying to slaughter, would shut them up in cages, or saw them asunder. Nor were all these severities inflicted for crimes of great enormity, but for reflecting upon his public sports for the entertainment of the people, or because they had never sworn by his Genius. He obliged parents to be present at the execution of their sons ; and to one who excused himself on account of indisposition, he sent his own chair. Another he invited to his own table immediately after the fight, and with great complaisance was for engaging him in a merry jocular conversation. The overseer of his public diversions of gladiators and the hunting of wild beasts, he ordered to be beat with chains, during several days successively, in his fight, and did not put him to death, until he was offended with the stench of his putrefied brain. He burnt alive, in the middle of the amphitheatre, the writer of a farce, for a short jocular sentence with a double meaning. A Roman knight, who had been exposed by him to wild beasts, crying out that he
was

was innocent, he fetched him back, and cutting out his tongue, remanded him to his former situation.

XXVIII. Asking a certain person, whom he restored to his country after a long banishment, how he used to spend his time, he, in flattery, replied, "I was always praying the Gods for what has happened, that Tiberius might die, and you be emperor." He supposing from this, that those whom he had banished prayed for his death likewise, sent orders round the islands to have them all put to death. Being very desirous to have a Senator torn to pieces, he employed some persons to call him a public enemy, fall upon him as he entered the house, stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear in pieces. Nor was he satisfied, until he saw the members and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged through the streets, piled up in a heap before him.

XXIX. He aggravated his barbarous actions by language equally outrageous. "There is nothing in my nature," said he, "that I commend or approve so much, as my *αδιατρεψια* (inflexible rigor)." Upon his grandmother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if to pay no regard to it was not sufficient, he said to her, "Remember that all things are lawful for me." When he was going to murder his brother, whom he suspected to take antidotes for fear of poison, he expressed himself thus: "An antidote against Cæsar?" And when he banished his sisters, he threateningly told them that he had not only islands at command, but likewise swords. A man of Prætorian rank having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, for leave to continue longer, he
ordered

ordered him to be put to death; adding these words; "Bleeding is necessary for one that has found no benefit from the use of hellebore for so long a time." He used every tenth day to denounce in his hand-writing the number of prisoners appointed for execution; and this he called "clearing his accounts." And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he exclaimed in triumph, "I have conquered Gallogræcia."

XXX. He scarcely ever suffered any person to be put to death, but by flight and frequently repeated strokes; this being a well-known and constant order of his upon those occasions: "Strike so that he may feel himself die." Having by a mistake of his name punished one person for another, he said, "he had deserved as much." He had frequently in his mouth these words of the tragedian,

Oderint dum metuant.

I scorn their hatred, if they do but fear me.

He would often inveigh against all the Senators without exception, as the clients of Sejanus, and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the memoirs which he had pretended to burn, and excusing the cruelty of Tiberius as necessary, since it was impossible to question the veracity of such a number of accusers. He was continually reviling the whole Equestrian Order, as passionately fond of acting upon the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Being in a rage at the people for favoring a party at the Circensian games in opposition to him, he exclaimed, "I wish the Roman people had but one neck." When Tetrinius the highwayman was prosecuted, he said the prosecutors too were all Tetrinius's,

nus's. Five Retiarii * in tunics fighting in a company, yielded to so many pursuers, without once contending for victory ; and being ordered to be all slain, one of them taking up his fork again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation as a most cruel butchery, and cursed all those who were able to endure the sight of it.

XXXI. He used likewise to complain openly of the condition of the times, because they were not rendered remarkable by any public calamities : that the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus ; and that of Tiberius by the fall of the theatre at Fidenæ ; but that his was like to be unknown to future ages, from an uninterrupted series of prosperity. And he would now and then wish for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, conflagrations, or that the earth would open.

* Gladiators were distinguished by their armor and manner of fighting. Some were called *Secutores*, whose arms were a helmet, a shield, a sword, or a leaden bullet. Others, the usual antagonists of the former, were named *Retiarii*. A combatant of this class was dressed in a short tunic, but wore nothing on his head. He carried in his left hand a three-pointed lance, called *Tridens* or *Fuscina*, and in his right, a net, with which he attempted to entangle his adversary, by casting it over his head, and suddenly drawing it together ; when with his trident he usually slew him. But if he missed his aim, by throwing the net either too short or too far, he instantly betook himself to flight, and endeavored to prepare his net for a second cast. His antagonist, in the mean time, pursued to prevent his design by dispatching him.

XXXII. Even

XXXII. Even in the midst of his diversions, in his gaming or feasting, this savage ferocity both in his language and actions never forsook him. Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing. A soldier, who was an adept in the art of beheading, used at such times to take off the heads of prisoners, who were brought without distinction from the jails for that purpose. At Puteoli, upon his first mounting the bridge, which has been already mentioned as of his contrivance, he invited a number of people to come to him from the shore, and then all on a sudden threw them headlong into the sea; thrusting down with poles and oars those who, to save themselves, had got hold of the rudders of the ships. At Rome, in a public feast, a slave having stolen a little silver from the beds, he delivered him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and to lead him round the several companies with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label, signifying the cause of his punishment. A gladiator that was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poniard, and then ran about with a branch of palm in his hand, after the manner of those who are victorious in the games. When a victim was to be offered upon an altar, he, clad in the habit of the *Popæ* *, and holding the axe aloft some time, at last, instead of the animal, slaughtered an

* *Popæ* were those who, at public sacrifices, led the victim to the altar. They had their cloaths tucked up, and were naked to the waist. The victim was led with a slack-rope, that it might not seem to be brought by force, which was reckoned a bad omen. For the same reason, it was allowed to stand loose before the altar; and it was thought a very bad omen if it fled away.

officer

officer who attended to cut up the sacrifice. And at a sumptuous entertainment, falling suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and the Consuls, who were next him, very respectfully asking him the occasion ; “ Nothing,” replied he, “ but that, upon a single nod of mine, ye may both of you have your throats cut.”

XXXIII. Amongst many other jests, this was one. As he stood by the statue of Jupiter, he asked Apelles the tragedian, which of them he thought the bigger ? Upon his demurring about it, he lashed him most severely, now and then commending his voice, whilst he begged pardon, as very sweet in the midst of groans. As often as he kissed the neck of his wife or mistress, he would say, “ So fine a neck must be destroyed when I please ;” and now and then he would threaten to put his Cæsonia to the torture, for the purpose of finding out the reason why he loved her so much.

XXXIV. In his behaviour towards men of almost all ages, he discovered a degree of envy and malignity, equal to that of his cruelty and pride. He so demolished and dispersed the statues of several illustrious persons, that had been removed by Augustus for want of room, from the court of the Capitol into the Field of Mars, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And for the future, he forbid any statue whatever to be erected without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of suppressing Homer’s poems : “ For why,” said he, “ may not I do what Plato has done before me, who has turned him out of his commonwealth ?” He was likewise very near banishing the writings of Virgil and Titus Livius, with their effigies, out of all libraries ; censuring one of them as “ a man of no wit, and

very little learning;” and the other as “ a verbose and careless historian.” He often talked of the lawyers as if he intended to abolish their profession. “ By Hercules,” he would say, “ I shall put it out of their power to answer any questions in law, otherwise than by referring to me.”

XXXV. He took from the noblest persons in the city the ancient marks of distinction, used by their families; as from Torquatus* the chain, from Cincinnatus the lock of hair †, and from Cn. Pompey, of an ancient family, the surname of *Great*. Ptolemy, mentioned above, whom he sent for out of his kingdom, and received very honorably, he suddenly took off, for no other reason, but because he observed that upon entering the theatre, at a public diversion of gladiators, he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, by the splendor of his fine scarlet robe. As often as he met with handsome men, that had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be shaved, to make them appear ridiculous. There was one Esius Proculus, the son of a Centurion of the first

* The golden chain, taken off the gigantic Gaul, who was killed in single combat by Titus Manlius, called afterwards Torquatus, was worn by the lineal male descendants of the Manlian family. But that illustrious race becoming extinct, the badge of honor, as well as the cognomen of Torquatus, was revived by Augustus, in the person of C. Nonius Asprenas, who perhaps claimed descent by the female line from the family of Manlius.

† I have met with no account of the lock of hair in Livy, nor in any other writer whom I have consulted. It is therefore probable, that the tradition concerning it, though existing in the time of Suetonius, is now totally lost.

rank, who, being a lusty comely person, went by the name of Colossoferos. Him he ordered to be dragged out of his seat into the middle of the theatre, and matched with a gladiator in light armor, and another completely armed; and, upon his worsting them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led clothed in rags up and down the streets of the city, to be shown in that situation to the women, and afterwards to be butchered. There was no man of so abject or mean condition, whose excellency in any kind he did not envy. The Rex Nemorensis having many years enjoyed the honor of the priesthood, he procured an able-bodied antagonist to oppose him. One Porius an *Effedarian* * having, at a public show of gladiators, manumised a slave of his for his success in fighting, and being clapped extremely for it, he arose in such a hurry from his seat, that, treading upon the lap of his toga, he tumbled down the steps, full of indignation, and crying out, “A people who are masters of the world pay greater respect to a gladiator for a trifle, than to princes received amongst the Gods, or to myself here present amongst them.”

XXXVI. He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of others. He is said to have been inflamed with an unnatural passion for M. Lepidus Mneſter the pantomimic, and some hostages; and to have engaged with them in a practice of mutual pollution. Valerius Catullus, a young man of a Consular family, bawled out publicly that he had been jaded by him in that abominable act. Besides his incest with his

* An *Effedarian* was one who fought from an *Effedum*, a kind of swift carriage employed in war by the Gauls and Britons, and adopted at Rome for common use.

sisters, and his notorious passion for the prostitute Pyralis, there was hardly any lady of distinction, that he did not make free with. He used commonly to invite them with their husbands to supper, and as they passed by his feet, viewed them very attentively, like those who traffic in slaves; and if any one from modesty held down her face, he raised it up with his hand. Afterwards, when the humor seized him, he would quit the room, send for her whom he liked best, and in a short time return with the marks of lewdness fresh upon him. He would then, in presence of the company, commend or disparage her, recounting the qualities or defects of her person and behaviour in private. To some he sent a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and ordered it to be registered in the public acts.

XXXVII. In the contrivance of profuse expences he surpassed all the prodigals that ever lived; inventing a new kind of bath, with strange dishes and suppers; so that he would bathe in precious unguents, both warm and cold, drink pearls of immense value dissolved in vinegar, and serve up for his guests bread and other victuals of gold; often saying, "that a man ought either to be a good economist or an emperor." Nay, he scattered money likewise to a prodigious amount amongst the people, from the top of the Julian court, during several days successively. He built two ships with ten banks of oars, after the Liburnian fashion, the sterns of which were decked with jewels, and the sails were parti-colored, with large baths, porticos, and rooms of entertainment, and with great variety likewise of vines, and other fruit-trees. In these he would sail along the coast of Campania, feasting in the day-time amidst dancing and concerts of music. In the building of his palaces and country-seats, in defiance

ance of all reason, he desired to effect nothing so much, as what was accounted impossible. Accordingly moles were formed in a deep and boisterous sea, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging; and all these were to be executed with incredible speed; for the least remissness was capital. Not to mention particulars, he lavished away a most prodigious estate, and all the treasures which had been amassed by Tiberius Cæsar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year.

XXXVIII. Being therefore quite exhausted and in want of money, he fell to plundering his subjects, by every mode of false accusation, confiscation, and taxes, that could be invented. He declared that those had no right to the freedom of the city of Rome, whose ancestors had obtained it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons, for that none beyond that degree ought to be considered as *posterity*. When the grants of Julius and Augustus were shown upon these occasions, he affected an air of concern, but said they were old and out of date. He charged likewise all those with giving a false account of their estates, who, after the taking of the Census, had by any means whatever improved them. He cancelled the wills of all those who had been Centurions of the first rank in the army, as testimonies of their base ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign they had not left either that prince or himself their heir. He acted in the same manner with respect to the wills of all others, if any person only pretended to say, that they designed at their death to leave Cæsar their heir. The public being terrified at this proceeding, he was now, by per-

sons unknown to him, joined heir with their friends, and by parents with their children. Those who lived any considerable time after making such a will, he said, exposed him to ridicule; and accordingly he sent many of them poisoned cakes. He used to sit for the trial of such causes himself; determining previously the sum for the raising of which he proposed to sit, and, after he had secured it, quitting the bench. He was upon all those occasions impatient of deliberation, condemning by one single sentence forty persons, charged with different accusations; and boasting to Cæsonia when she awaked, "how much business he had dispatched while she was taking her mid-day sleep." He exposed to sale, in the way of auction, all that was left of the furniture of his public shows for the diversion of the people, and obliged the company to purchase his commodities at so high a price, that some were ruined in their fortunes by it, and bled themselves to death. It is a well known story that is told of Aponius Saturninus, who happening to fall asleep as he sat by at the sale, Caius called out to the auctioneer, not to overlook the Prætorian personage that nodded to him so often; and accordingly the salesman went on with his business, pretending to take the nods for tokens of assent, until thirteen gladiators were knocked off to him at the sum of nine millions of sesterces.

XXXIX. Having likewise sold off in Gaul all the cloaths, furniture, slaves, and even freedmen belonging to his sisters, at prodigious prices, he was so much pleased with the profit, that he sent for all the old furniture of the court from the city; taking up for the conveyance of it to him all the hackney carriages, with the horses and mules belonging to the bakers every where upon the road, so that they often wanted bread at Rome; and many that had
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suits at law in progress, because they could not make their appearance in due time according to their bail-bond, lost their causes. In selling off this furniture, every artifice of fraud and imposition was employed. Sometimes he would rail at the bidders for their tenaciousness of money, and "because they were not ashamed to be richer than he was:" another while he would affect to be sorry for having alienated to private persons what belonged to the court. He had discovered, that an opulent man of that province had given two hundred thousand sesterces to those who were employed by him to invite company to his table, to be admitted to that honor; and he was much pleased to find it valued at so high a rate. The day following, as the same person was sitting at the sale, he sent him some bauble, for which he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sesterces, and "that he should sup with Cæsar upon his own invitation."

XL. He levied his new taxes, and such as were never before known, at first by the tax-farmers, but afterwards, because the money thence arising was prodigious, by Centurions and Tribunes of the guards; no kind either of things or persons being exempted from the payment of some duty or other. For all eatables sold in the city, a certain excise was exacted: for all law-suits or trials in whatever court, the fortieth part of the sum in dispute; and such as were convicted of compromising litigations, were made liable to a penalty. Out of the day-wages of porters, he received an eighth part, and of the gains of common prostitutes, as much as they received for one act of criminal commerce. A clause was in the law, that all those should be liable to pay, who kept women for prostitution or sale, and that matrimony itself should not be exempted.

XLI. These taxes being imposed, but the act by which they were levied never submitted to public inspection, great grievances were experienced from the want of sufficient knowledge of the law. At length, upon the urgent request of the people, he hung up the act, but written in a very small character, and in a narrow place, that nobody might transcribe it. To leave no sort of extortion untried, he opened a public stew in the Palatium, with a great variety of apartments, furnished in a manner suitable to the dignity of the place ; in which married women and boys free-born were ready for the reception of all visitants. He sent likewise his nomenclators about the forums and courts, to invite people of all ages to his brothel ; and to such as came, he lent money upon interest ; clerks attending to take down their names, as of persons who were promoters of the emperor's revenue. Another method of raising money, which he thought not below his notice, was gaming ; which, by the help of lying and perjury, he turned to considerable account. Leaving once the management of his play to a fellow-gamester that sat next him, he stepped to the door, and observing two rich Roman knights passing by, he ordered them immediately to be seized, and their estates confiscated. Then returning overjoyed to his company, he boasted that he had never better luck at play in his life.

XLII. After the birth of his daughter, complaining of his poverty, and the burdens to which he was subjected, not only as an emperor but a father, he publicly received contributions for her maintenance and fortune. He likewise gave notice by proclamation, that he would receive new-year's gifts the first of January following, and accordingly stood at the door of his house, to take possession of the presents which people of all ranks threw down be-

fore him by handfulls and lapfulls. At last being seized with an invincible desire of feeling money, he would often walk over great heaps of gold coin spread upon a large floor, and then laying himself down, would roll his whole body over and over again upon them.

XLIII. He never but once in his life concerned himself with military affairs, and then not deliberately, but in his journey to Mevania, to see the grove and river of Clitumnus. Being put in mind of recruiting his company of Batavians, which he had about him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany. Immediately he drew together several legions and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and made every where new levies with the utmost rigor. Laying in provisions of all kinds, beyond what had ever been done upon the like occasion, he set out on his march; and pursued it with so much haste and hurry sometimes, that the guards were obliged, contrary to custom, to lay their standards upon the backs of horses or mules, and so follow him. At other times, he would march with such slowness and delicacy, that he would be carried in a chair by eight men; ordering the roads to be swept by the people of the neighbouring towns, and sprinkled with water to lay the dust.

XLIV. Upon arriving in the camp, to show himself an active general, and severe disciplinarian, he cashiered the lieutenant-generals that came up late with the auxiliary forces from different parts. In reviewing the army, he took their companies from most of the Centurions of the first rank, who had now served their legal time in the wars, and from some but a few days before their time would have expired; alledging against them their great age and infirmity; and railing at the covetous disposition

of the rest of them, he reduced the premiums due to such as had served out their time to the sum of six thousand sesterces. Though he only received the submission of Adminius, the son of Cinobelinus a British prince, who being forced from his native country by his father, came over to him with a small body of troops; yet as if the whole island had been surrendered to him, he dispatched magnificent letters to Rome upon the occasion, ordering the bearers to proceed in their chaise directly up to the Forum and the Senate-house, and not to deliver the letters but to the Consuls in the temple of Mars, and in the presence of a full assembly of the Senators.

XLV. Soon after this, there being a general tranquillity, he ordered a few Germans of his guard to be carried over and concealed on the other side of the Rhine, and word to be brought him after dinner, in a great hurry, that an enemy was advancing. This being accordingly done, he immediately posted away with his friends, and a party of the horse-guards, into the adjoining wood, where lopping the branches of some trees, and dressing them up in the manner of trophies, he returned by torch-light, upbraiding those who did not follow him, with timorousness and cowardice; but presented the companions and sharers of his victory with a new kind of crowns, and under a new name, with the representation of the sun, moon, and stars upon them, which he called *Exploratoriæ*. Again, some hostages were by his order taken out of a school, and privately sent off: upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the horse, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in chains; proceeding to an extravagant pitch of ostentation likewise in this military comedy. Upon again sitting down to table, when
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some came to acquaint him that the army was all come in, he ordered them to sit down as they were in their coats of mail, animating them in the words of that well known verse of Virgil:

Durate, et vosmet rebus fervate secundis.

Bravely bear up against the storm of fate,
And save your persons for a happier state.

In the mean time, he reprimanded the Senate and people of Rome by a very severe proclamation, "For reveling and frequenting the diversions of the Circus and theatre, and enjoying themselves in their country-houses, whilst their emperor was fighting, and exposing his person to the greatest dangers."

XLVI. At last, as if resolved to make an end of the war at once, drawing up his army upon the shore of the ocean, with his *ballistæ* and other engines of war, whilst no body could imagine what he intended to do, on a sudden he commanded them to gather up the sea shells, and fill their helmets, and the laps of their coats with them, calling them "the spoils of the Ocean due to the Capitol and the Palatium." As a monument of his success, he raised a high tower, upon which he ordered lights to be put in the night-time, for the direction of ships at sea; and then promising the soldiers a donative of a hundred denarii a man, as if he had surpassed the most eminent examples of generosity, "Go your ways," said he, "and be merry: go and be rich."

XLVII. Upon his applying himself to make preparations for his triumph, besides prisoners and those who had deserted from the barbarians, he picked out the men of

greatest stature in all Gaul, such as he said were fittest for a triumph, with some of the most considerable persons in the province, and reserved them to grace the solemnity; obliging them not only to dye their hair of a yellowish colour, and let it grow long, but to learn the German language, and assume the names commonly used in that country. He ordered likewise the galley in which he had entered the ocean, to be carried a great part of the way to Rome by land, and wrote to the collectors of his revenue in the city, "to make proper preparations for a triumph against his arrival, at as small expence as possible; but such a one, however, as had never been seen before, since they had full power and authority to seize the estates of all men whatever."

XLVIII. Before he left the province, he formed a design of the most horrid cruelty, to massacre the legions which had mutinied upon the death of Augustus, for seizing and detaining by force his father Germanicus their commander, and himself then an infant, in the camp. Though he was with great difficulty dissuaded from so rash a design, yet neither the most urgent entreaties nor representations could restrain him from putting to death every tenth man. Accordingly he ordered them to assemble unarmed, without so much as their swords; and when they were met, surrounded them with armed horse. But finding that many of them, from a suspicion of intended violence, were making off, to arm in their own defence, he quitted the assembly as fast as he could, and immediately marched for Rome; bending now all his fury against the Senate, whom he publicly threatened, to divert the general attention from the clamor excited by the design above-mentioned. Amongst other pretexts of offence, he complained that he was defrauded of a fair triumph, though
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he had just before forbidden, upon pain of death, any honor to be decreed him.

XLIX. In his march he was waited upon by deputies from the Senatorian Order, entreating him to hasten his return. He replied to them, "I will come, I will come, and this with me," striking at the same time the hilt of the sword which he had on. He issued likewise this proclamation: "I am coming, but for those only who wish for me, the Equestrian Order and the people; for I shall no longer behave as a fellow citizen or a prince to the Senate." He forbid any of the Senators to come to meet him; and either dropping or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation on his birth-day. Within four months from this period he was slain, after he had perpetrated enormous crimes, and was meditating the execution, if possible, of still greater. He had entertained a design of removing to Antium, and afterwards to Alexandria; but first resolved to murder all the flower of the Equestrian and Senatorian Orders. This is placed beyond all question, by two books which were found in his cabinet under different titles; one being called *sword*, and the other, *dagger*. They both contained private marks, and the names of such as had been devoted by him to future destruction. There was found likewise a large chest, filled with a variety of poisons, which being afterwards thrown into the sea by the order of Claudius, are said to have so infected the waters, that the fish were poisoned, and thrown out dead upon the neighbouring shores,

L. He was tall, of a pale complexion, ill shaped, his neck and legs very slender, his eyes and temples hollow, his forehead broad and grim, his hair thin, and about the crown quite decayed. The other parts of his body were
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much covered with hair. On this account, it was reckoned a capital crime for any person to look down from above, as he was passing by, or so much as to name a goat. His countenance, which was naturally hideous and frightful, he purposely rendered more so, forming it by a glass into the most horrible contortions. He was crazy both in body and mind, being subject when a boy to the falling sickness. When he arrived at the age of manhood, he would endure fatigue tolerably well, yet so that, occasionally, he was liable to a faintness, during which he remained incapable of any effort, even for his own preservation. He was not insensible of the disorder of his mind, and sometimes had thoughts of retiring to purge his brain. It is believed that his wife Cæsonia administered to him a love-potion which threw him into a frenzy. What most of all disordered him, was want of sleep, for he seldom had more than three or four hours rest in a night; and even then he slept not sound, but disturbed by strange dreams; fancying one time, that the ocean spoke to him. Being therefore often weary with lying awake so great a part of the night, he would one while sit upon the bed, another while walk in the longest porticos about his house, and now and then invoke, and look out for the approach of day. •

LI. To this crazy constitution of mind may, I think, very justly be ascribed two faults which he had, of a nature directly repugnant one to the other, namely, an excess of assurance and timidity. For he, who affected so much to despise the Gods, would, if there happened only a little thunder and lightning, shut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his coat; but if it thundered and lightened much, would get up and hide himself under the bed. In his visit to Sicily, after ridiculing many strange objects

which that country affords, he ran away suddenly in the night from Messana, being terrified at the smoke and noise of Mount *Ætna*. And though he was in speech very valiant against the barbarians, yet upon passing a narrow defile in Germany in his chaise, and surrounded by his troops, somebody happening to say, "There would be no small consternation amongst us, if an enemy should appear," he immediately mounted his horse, and rode towards the bridges in great haste; but finding them crowded with soldiers, servants and carriages, he was in such a consternation as to be unable to proceed, and was transported, on foot, by his attendants, over the heads of the crowd. Soon after, upon hearing of the wars breaking out again in Germany, he was making ready to quit Rome, and providing fleets for the purpose, comforting himself with this consideration, that if the enemy should prove victorious, and possess themselves of the tops of the Alps, as the *Cimbri* had done, or of the city, as had the *Senones*, he should still have in reserve the transmarine provinces. For this reason, I suppose, it was, that those who killed him thought proper to persuade the soldiers, all in commotion upon his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, in a fit of terror occasioned by the news brought him of the defeat of his army.

LII. In his cloaths, shoes, and other parts of his dress, he neither followed the usage of his country, his sex, nor indeed any fashion suitable to a human creature. He would often appear abroad dressed in an embroidered coat set with jewels, in a tunic with sleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms; sometimes all in silks and habited like a woman; at other times in the *crepidæ* or buskins; sometimes in a sort of shoes used by the meaner soldiers, or those of women, and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin,

chin, holding in his hand a thunder-bolt, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of distinction belonging to the Gods only. Sometimes too he appeared in the dress of Venus. He wore very commonly the triumphal dress, even before his expedition, and sometimes the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, taken out of the vault where his body lay.

LIII. In respect of the liberal sciences, he was little conversant in philology, but applied himself with assiduity to the study of eloquence, being indeed in point of enunciation sufficiently elegant and ready ; and these qualities appeared most conspicuous when he happened to be in a passion. In speaking, his action was vehement, and his voice so strong, that he was heard at a great distance. When he was about to harangue, he threatened "the sword of his lucubration." He so much despised a soft smooth style, that he said Seneca, who was then much admired, "wrote only boyish declamations," and that "his language was nothing else but sand without lime." When pleaders were successful in a cause, he often wrote answers to their speeches ; and would exercise himself in composing accusations or vindications of eminent persons that were impeached before the Senate ; and according to his success he would exasperate or assuage the situation of the party by his vote in the house ; inviting the Equestrian Order, by proclamation, to hear him.

LIV. He likewise applied himself with alacrity to the practice of several other arts, as fencing, riding the chariot, singing, and dancing. In the first of these, he practised with the weapons used in fighting ; and drove the chariot in Circus's built in several places. He was so extremely fond of singing and dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatre from singing with the tragedians,
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and imitating the gestures of the actors, either in the way of approbation or correction. A *pervigilium* which he had ordered the day upon which he was slain, was thought to be intended for no other reason, than to take the opportunity afforded by the licentiousness of such a season, to make his first appearance upon the stage. Sometimes he danced likewise in the night. Sending once, in the second watch of the night, for three men of Consular rank, who were under great apprehensions from the message, he placed them by the stage, and then all on a sudden came bursting out, with a loud noise of flutes and *Scabella*, dressed in a palla and tunic reaching down to his heels. Having danced out a song, he retired. Yet he who had acquired such dexterity in other exercises, could never swim.

LV. Those for whom he once conceived a regard, he favored even to madness. He used to kiss Mneſter the pantomimic publicly in the theatre; and if any person made the least noise while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged out of his seat, and scourged him with his own hand. A Roman knight once making some bustle, he sent him, by a Centurion, an order to go forthwith down to Ostia, and carry a letter from him to king Ptolemy in Mauritania. The letter was comprised in these words: "Do neither good nor harm to the bearer." He made some gladiators captains of his German guards. He took from the gladiators called Mirmillones some of their arms. One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being slightly wounded, he ordered some poison to be infused into the wound, which he thence called *Columbinum*. For thus it certainly was put down with his own hand amongst other poisons. He was so extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers that rode in green, that he

he supped and lodged for some time constantly in the stable where their horses were kept. At a certain revel, he made a present of two millions of sesterces to one Cythicus a driver of a chariot. The day before the Circensian games, he used by his soldiers to enjoin silence in the neighbourhood, that the repose of his horse *Inci-tatus* might not be disturbed. For this favorite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory manger, scarlet body-cloaths, and a bracelet of jewels, he appointed a house, with a retinue of slaves, and fine furniture, for the reception of such as were invited in the horse's name to sup with him. It is even said that he designed to have made him Consul.

LVI. During this frantic and savage behaviour, many had formed a design of cutting him off; but one or two conspiracies being discovered, and others postponed from the want of opportunity, at last two men concerted a plan together; and accomplished their purpose, not without the privity of some of the greatest favorites amongst his freedmen, and the commanders of the guards; because having been named, though falsely, as concerned in one conspiracy against him, they perceived he was jealous of them, and hated them ever after. For he had immediately endeavored to render them obnoxious to the soldiery, by drawing his sword, and declaring, "That he would kill himself if they thought him worthy of death;" and he was continually ever after accusing them to one another, and setting them all mutually at variance. The conspirators having resolved to fall upon him as he returned at noon from the Palatine games, Cassius Chærea, Tribune of a battalion of the guards, claimed the part of beginning the onset. This Chærea was now an elderly man, and had been often reproached
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by Caius for effeminacy. When he came for the watchword, the latter would give him *Priapus* or *Venus*; and upon his occasional expression of thanks, would offer him his hand to kiss in a figure and gesture of lewd imitation.

LVII. His approaching fate was indicated by many prodigies. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had ordered to be taken down and brought to Rome, all on a sudden burst out into such a violent fit of laughter, that the machines employed in the work being put into disorder, the workmen ran away. Immediately upon this incident, there came up a man named Cassius, who said that he was commanded in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The Capitol at Capua was struck with lightning upon the Ides of March; as was likewise, at Rome, the apartment of the principal slave belonging to the Palatium. Some construed the latter into a presage that the master of the place was in danger from his own guards; and the other they regarded as a sign, that an execution similar to what had formerly happened on that day, would soon take place. Sylla the astrologer being consulted by him respecting his nativity, assured him, "That death would unavoidably and speedily befall him." The oracle of Fortune at Antium likewise forewarned him of Cassius; on which account he had given orders for putting to death Cassius Longinus, at that time Pro-Consul of Asia, not considering that Chærea was also of that name. The day preceding his death he dreamt that he was standing in heaven by the throne of Jupiter, who giving him a push with the great toe of his right foot, he fell headlong down upon the earth. Some things which happened the very day of his death, and only a little before it, were likewise considered as ominous presages of
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of that event. Whilst he was at sacrifice, he was bespattered with the blood of a flamingo. And the pantomimic Mneſter danced a tragedy, which the tragedian Neoptolemus had formerly acted at the games, in which Philip the king of the Macedonians was slain. And in the piece called Laureolus, in which the actor running out in a hurry and falling vomited blood, several of the secondary actors vying with each other to give the best specimen of their art, made the whole stage be overflowed with blood. And for the night was intended a sort of play, in which the fabulous accounts of the infernal regions were to be represented by Egyptians and Æthiopians.

LVIII. Upon the ninth of the Calends of February, and about the seventh hour of the day, being in some doubt whether he should rise to dinner, as his stomach was disordered by what he had eaten the day before, at last, by the advice of his friends he came out. Some boys of noble extraction, who had been brought from Asia to act upon the stage, waiting for him in a private portico through which he was to pass, he made a stop to view and to speak to them; and had not the chief of them said he had got cold, he would have gone back, and have made them act immediately. In respect of what followed, two different accounts are given. Some say, that, whilst he was speaking to the boys, Chærea came behind him, and gave him a great cut in the neck, first crying out, "Mind this:" that then a Tribune, by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the conspirators, ran him through the breast. Others say, that the crowd being kept at a distance by some Centurions who were privy to the design, Sabinus came, according to custom, for the word, and that Caius gave him "*Jupiter*," upon which Chærea cried out, "Here's for thee thy wish fulfilled!"

filled!" and then, as he looked about, cleaved one of his jaws with a blow. As he lay on the ground, crying out that he was still alive, the rest dispatched him with thirty wounds. For the word amongst them all was, "Strike again." Some likewise run their swords through his privy parts. Upon the first bustle, the chairmen came running in with their poles to his assistance, and, immediately after, his German guards, who killed some of the conspirators, and likewise some Senators who had no concern in the transaction.

LIX. He lived twenty-nine years, and reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. His body was carried privately into the Lamian Gardens, where it was half burnt upon a pile hastily raised, and then as carelessly buried. It was afterwards taken up again by his sisters, upon their return from banishment, effectually burnt, and buried. Before this was done, it is well known that the keepers of the gardens were greatly disturbed by apparitions; and that not a night passed without some terrible fright or other in the house where he was slain, until it was destroyed by fire. His wife Cæsonia was killed with him, being stabbed by a Centurion; and his daughter had her brains knocked out against a wall.

LX. Of the miserable condition of those times any person may easily form an estimate from the following circumstances. For after his death was made public, it was not presently credited. People entertained a suspicion that the report of his being killed had been contrived and spread by himself, with the view of discovering how they stood affected towards him. Nor had the conspirators pitched upon any one to succeed him. The Senators were so unanimous in their resolution to assert the liberty

of their country, that the Consuls assembled them at first not in the usual place of meeting, because that had its name from Julius Cæsar, but in the Capitol. Some proposed to the house to abolish the memory of the Cæsars, and level their temples with the ground. It was particularly remarked on this occasion, that all the Cæsars, who had the prænomen of Caius, died by the sword, ever since him who was slain in the times of Cinna.

UNFORTUNATELY a great chasm in the Annals of Tacitus, at this period, precludes all information from that historian respecting the reign of Caligula: but from what he mentions towards the close of the preceding chapter, it is evident that Caligula was forward to seize the reins of government, upon the death of Tiberius, whom, though he rivalled him in his vices, he was far from imitating in his dissimulation. Amongst the people, the remembrance of Germanicus's virtues cherished for his family an attachment, which was probably encreased by its misfortunes; and they were anxious to see revived in the son the popularity of the father. Considering, however, that Caligula's vicious disposition was already known, and that it had even been an inducement with Tiberius to procure his succession, as what might prove a foil to his own memory; it is surprising that no effort was made at this juncture to shake off the despotism which had been so intolerable in the last reign, and restore the ancient liberty of the Republic. Since the commencement of the imperial dominion, there never had been any period so favorable for a counter-revolution as the present crisis. There existed now no Livia, to influence the minds of the Senate and people in respect of the government;

vernment; nor was there any other person allied to the family of Germanicus, whose countenance or intrigues could promote the views of Caligula. He himself was now only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was totally inexperienced in the administration of public affairs, had never performed even the smallest service to his country, and was generally known to be of a character which disgraced his illustrious descent. Yet, in spite of all these circumstances, such was the destiny of Rome that his accession afforded joy to the soldiers, who had known him in his childhood, and to the populace in the capital, as well as the people in the provinces, who were flattered with the delusive expectation of receiving a prince who should adorn the throne with the amiable virtues of Germanicus.

It is difficult to say, whether a weakness of understanding, or a corruption of morals, was more conspicuous in the character of Caligula. He seems to have discovered from his earliest years an innate depravity of mind, which was undoubtedly much encreased by a defect of education. He had lost both his parents at an early period of life; and from Tiberius's own character, as well as his views in training the person who should succeed him on the throne, there is reason to think, that if any attention whatever was paid to the education of Caligula, it was directed to vitiate all his faculties and passions, rather than to correct and improve them. If such was really the object, it was indeed prosecuted with success.

The commencement, however, of his reign was such as by no means prognosticated its subsequent transition. The sudden change of his conduct, the astonishing mixture of imbecility and presumption, of moral turpitude

and frantic extravagance, which he afterwards evinced; such as rolling himself over heaps of gold, his treatment of his horse Incitatus, and his design of making him Consul, seem to justify a suspicion that his brain had actually been affected, either by the potion, said to have been given him by his wife Cæsonia, or otherwise. Philtres, or love-potions, as they were called, were frequent in those times; and the people believed that they operated upon the mind by a mysterious and sympathetic power. It is, however, beyond a doubt, that their effects were produced entirely by the action of their physical qualities upon the organs of the body. They were usually made of the satyrion, which, according to Pliny, was a provocative. They were generally given by women to their husbands at bed-time; and it was necessary towards their successful operation, that the parties should sleep together. This circumstance explains the whole mystery. The philtres were nothing more than medicines of a stimulating quality, which, after exciting violent, but temporary effects, enfeebled the constitution, and occasioned nervous disorders, by which the mental faculties, as well as the corporeal, might be injured. That this was really the case with Caligula, seems probable, not only from the falling sickness, to which he was subject, but from the habitual watchfulness of which he complained.

The profusion of this emperor, during his short reign of three years and ten months, is unexampled in history. In the midst of profound peace, without any extraordinary charges either civil or military, he expended, in less than one year, besides the current revenue of the empire, the sum of 21,796,875 pounds sterling, which had been left by Tiberius at his death. To supply the extravagance of future years, new and exorbitant taxes were im-

posed upon the people, and those too on the necessities of life. There existed now amongst the Romans every motive that could excite a general indignation against their government; yet such was still the dread of imperial power, though vested in the hands of so weak and despicable a sovereign, that no insurrection was attempted, nor any extensive conspiracy formed; but the obnoxious emperor fell at last a sacrifice to a few Centurions of his own guard.

This reign was of too short duration to afford any new productions in literature: but, had it been extended to a much longer period, the effects would probably have been the same. Polite learning never could flourish under an emperor who entertained a design of destroying the writings of Virgil and Livy. It is fortunate that these, and other valuable productions of antiquity, were too widely diffused over the world, and too carefully preserved, to be in danger of perishing through the frenzy of this capricious barbarian.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR.

I. LIVIA having married Augustus when she was big with child, was within three months after delivered of Drusus, the father of Claudius Cæsar, who had at first the prænomen of Decimus, but afterwards that of Nero; and it was suspected, that he was begotten in adultery by his father-in-law. The following verse, however, became immediately very common upon it.

Τοις ευτυχασι και τριμνη παιδια.

Nine months for common births the fates decree;
But, for the great, reduce the term to three.

This Drusus, during the time of his being Quæstor and Prætor, commanded in the Rhætic and German wars, and was the first of all the Roman generals that sailed the Northern Ocean. He made likewise some prodigious trenches beyond the Rhine, which to this day are called by his name. He overthrew the enemy in several battles, and drove them up a great way into the desert parts of the country. Nor did he desist from the pursuit until a barbarian woman of more than human size appeared to him, and in the Latin tongue forbid him to proceed any farther. For these achievements he had the honor of an ovation, and the triumphal ornaments. After his Prætorship, he immediately took upon him the Consulate, and returning again to Germany, died in the summer-
camp,

camp, which thence obtained the name of “ the wicked camp.” His corpse was carried to Rome by the principal persons of the several borough towns and colonies upon the road, being met and received by the public scribes of each place, and buried in the Field of Mars. In honor of his memory the army erected a monument, round which the soldiers used, annually, upon a certain day, to march in solemn procession, and persons deputed from the several cities of Gaul made their supplications to his ghost. The Senate likewise, amongst various other honors, decreed for him a triumphal arch of marble with trophies in the Appian way, as also the cognomen of *Germanicus*, for him and his posterity. He was considered as a person by no means of an assuming temper, but ambitious of glory. For besides his victories he brought off the spoils called *Opima**, and frequently singled out and pursued the German commanders up and down their army, with the utmost hazard of his life. He likewise often declared, that he would some time or other, if possible, restore the ancient government. On this account, I suppose, some have ventured to affirm that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him; and because he made no haste to comply with the order, took him off by

* The *Spolia Opima* were the spoils taken from the general of the enemy, when he was slain in single combat by the general of the Romans. They were always hung up in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. During the whole time that the Roman state existed, those spoils had been obtained only thrice; the first by Romulus, who slew Acron, king of the Cæninenses; the next by A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, A. U. 318; and the third by M. Claudius Marcellus, who slew Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, A. U. 330.

poison. This I mention, that I may not be guilty of any omission, more than because I think it either true or probable; since Augustus loved him so much when living, that he always, in his wills, made him joint heir with his sons, as he once declared in the Senate, and upon his decease, extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the Gods "to make his Cæsars like him, and to grant him as honorable an exit out of this world as they had given him." And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb an epitaph in verse composed by himself, he wrote likewise the history of his life in prose. He had by the younger Antonia several children, but left behind him only three, viz. Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

II. Claudius was born at Lyons in the Consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very day upon which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus, and was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Soon after, upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family, he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almost the whole of his minority, and for some time after he attained the age of manhood, was afflicted with a variety of stubborn complaints; insomuch that his mind and body being greatly impaired, he was, even after his arrival at years of maturity, never thought sufficiently qualified for any public or private employment. He was therefore during a long time, and even after the expiration of his minority, under the direction of a pædagogus, who, he complains in a certain memoir, "was a barbarous wretch, and formerly a master-mule-driver, that was retained as his governor, on purpose to correct him severely on every trifling occasion." On account of
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this crazy constitution of body and mind, at the show of gladiators, which in conjunction with his brother he gave the people in honor of his father's memory, he presided muffled up in a pallium, contrary to custom. When he assumed the manly habit, he was carried in a chair at mid-night into the Capitol without the usual ceremony.

III. He applied himself, however, from an early age, with great assiduity to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in each of them. But never, with all his endeavors, could he attain to any public post in the government, or afford any hope of arriving at distinction in a future period. His mother Antonia frequently called him "a monster of a man, that had been only begun, but never finished by nature." And when she would upbraid any one with dulness, she said, "he was more a fool than her son Claudius." His grandmother Augusta always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely spoke to him, and when she did admonish him upon any occasion, it was in writing, very briefly and severely, or by messengers. His sister Livilla, upon hearing that he would be created emperor, openly and loudly expressed her indignation that the Roman people should experience a fate so severe and so much below their grandeur. To show the opinion, both favorable and otherwise, entertained concerning him by Augustus his great-uncle, I have here subjoined some extracts from the letters of that emperor.

IV. "I have had some conversation with Tiberius, according to your desire, my dear Livia, as to what must be done with your grandson Tiberius at the games of Mars. We are both agreed in this, that once for all we ought to determine what course to take with him. For
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if he be really perfect and entire, as I may say, with regard to his intellects, why should we hesitate to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him indeed unfinished, and defective both in body and mind, we must beware of giving occasion for him and ourselves to be laughed at by the world, which is ready enough to make matters of this kind the subject of mirth and derision. For we never shall be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, without coming to a final decision, whether he be really capable of public offices or not. With regard to what you consult me about at present, I am not against his superintending at the feast of the priests, if he will suffer himself to be governed by his kinsman Silanus's son, that he may do nothing to make the people stare and laugh at him. But I do not approve of his seeing the Circensian games from the Pulvinar. He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre. Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban mountain, or be at Rome during the Latin festival. For if he be capable of attending his brother to the mountain, why is he not made Præfect of the city? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter. I am of opinion we ought to settle this affair once for all, that we may not to be always in suspense between hope and fear. You may, if you think proper, give our kinswoman Antonia this part of my letter to read." In another letter he writes as follows: "I shall invite the youth Tiberius, every day during your absence, to supper, that he may not sup alone with his friend Sulpicius and Athenodorus. I wish he was more cautious and attentive in the choice of some person, whose motion, air and gait, might be proper for the poor creature's imitation:

ΑΤΥΧΕΙ ΠΑΝΥ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΙΣ ΛΙΑΝ.

In things of consequence he sadly fails.

Where his mind does not run astray, he discovers a noble disposition." In a third letter he says, "Let me die, my dear Livia, if I am not astonished, that your grandson Tiberius should declaim to please me: for how he that talks so obscurely, should be able to declaim so clearly and properly, I cannot imagine." There is no doubt but Augustus, after this, came to a resolution upon the subject, and accordingly left him invested with no other honor than that of the Augural Priesthood; naming him amongst the heirs of the third degree, and such as were but distantly allied to his family, for a sixth part of his estate only, and left him a legacy of no more than eight hundred thousand sesterces.

V. Tiberius, upon his requesting some preferment in the government, granted him the Consular ornaments. But he persisting in his requisition, the former wrote to him, that "he sent him forty gold pieces for his expences, during the festivals of the *Saturnalia* and *Sigillaria*." Upon this, laying aside all hope of advancement, he resigned himself entirely to an indolent life; living in great privacy, one while in his gardens, or a country-seat which he had near the city; another while in Campania, where he passed his time amongst the vilest company; by which means, besides his former character of a dull heavy fellow; he acquired that of a drunkard and gamester.

VI. Notwithstanding the infamous life he led, much respect was shown him both by the public, and private persons. The Equestrian Order twice made choice of him to carry a message in their names; once to request
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of the Consuls the favor of bearing on their shoulders the corpse of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate the Consuls upon the death of Sejanus. When he entered the theatre, they used to rise, and put off their cloaks. The Senate likewise voted, that he should be added to the number of the *Sodales Augustales* who were chosen by lot: and soon after, that his house, which was burnt down, should be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he should have the right of delivering his sentiments, upon any subject that came before the house, amongst the men of Consular rank. This decree was however repealed; Tiberius insisting to have him excused on account of his weakness, and promising to make good his loss at his own expence. But at his death, he named him in his will, amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate; leaving him besides a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and expressly recommending him to the armies, the Senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations.

VII. At last, Caius his brother's son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavoring to gain the affections of the public by all the arts of popularity, he likewise was admitted to public offices, and bore the Consulship in conjunction with his nephew for two months. As he was entering the Forum for the first time with the Fasces, an eagle which was flying that way, alighted upon his right shoulder. He likewise took his lot for the government of a province as Pro-Consul, at the expiration of the year. And he sometimes presided at the public diversions of the theatre, in the room of Caius; being always, on those occasions, complimented with the acclamations of the people, wishing him all happiness, sometimes under the title of the emperor's uncle, and sometimes under that of Germanicus's brother.

VIII. Amidst

VIII. Amidst all this respect, he nevertheless frequently experienced contumelious treatment. For if at any time he came late in to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time before he could get a place at table. When he indulged himself with a sleep after eating, which was a common practice with him, the company used to throw olive-stones and dates at him. And buffoons that attended would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a whip. Sometimes they would put shoes upon his hands, as he lay snoring, that he might, upon awaking, rub his face with them.

IX. He was not only exposed to contempt, but sometimes likewise to considerable danger: first, in his Consulship; for, having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statues of Caius's brothers, Nero and Drusus, he was very near being ejected from his office of Consul; and afterwards he was continually harassed with informations against him by one or other, sometimes even by his own domestics. When the conspiracy of Lepidus and Gætulicus was discovered, being sent with some other deputies into Germany, to congratulate the emperor upon the occasion, he was in danger of his life; Caius being greatly enraged, and expressing his resentment, that his uncle should be sent to him, as if he was a boy that wanted a governor. Some even say, that he was thrown into a river, in his travelling habit. From this period, he spoke in the Senate always the last of the members of Consular rank; being called upon after the rest, on purpose to disgrace him. An indictment likewise for the forgery of a will was allowed to be prosecuted, though he had signed it as a witness. At last, being obliged to pay into the treasury eight millions of sesterces for his entrance upon a new office of priesthood conferred upon him, he was, for that purpose,

purpose, reduced to the necessity of exposing to sale his whole estate, by an edict of the commissioners.

X. Having spent the greater part of his life under these and the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age, by a very surprising turn of fortune. Being amongst others prohibited by the conspirators from approaching the emperor, under the pretext of his desiring to be private, he retired into an apartment called the *Hermæum*: and soon after, terrified by the report of his being slain, he crept into an adjoining balcony, where he hid himself behind the hangings of the door. A common foldier that happened to pass that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, pulled him out; when immediately knowing him, he threw himself in a great fright at his feet, and saluted him by the title of emperor. He then conducted him to his fellow-soldiers, all in great rage, and irresolute what they should do. They put him into a chair, and because the slaves of the palace had all fled, took their turns of carrying him, and brought him into the camp, very melancholy and in great consternation; the people that met him lamenting his situation, as if the poor innocent man was carrying away to execution. Being received within the ramparts, he continued all night with the watch, recovered somewhat from his fright, but in no great hopes of the succession. For the Consuls, with the Senate and city battalions, had possessed themselves of the Forum and the Capitol, with a resolution to assert the public liberty: and he being sent for likewise, by a Tribune of the commons, to the house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs, returned answer, "I am under constraint, and cannot possibly come." The day after, the Senate being slow in the execution of their project, on account of great divisions amongst themselves,

selfes, and the insolence of the populace, who insisted upon being governed by one person, and Claudius by name, he suffered the soldiers to assemble under arms, and swear to support him ; when he promised them fifteen thousand sesterces a man, he being the first of the Cæsars that purchased the fidelity of the soldiers with money.

XI. Having thus secured to himself the administration of affairs, his first object was to abolish all remembrance of the two preceding days, in which a change of government had been debated. Accordingly he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time ; and this he faithfully observed, with the exception only of putting to death a few Tribunes and Centurions concerned in the conspiracy against Caius, both as an example, and because he understood that they had proposed to kill himself likewise. He now turned his thoughts towards paying his respect to the memory of his relations. His most solemn and usual oath was, “ By Augustus.” He prevailed with the Senate to decree divine honors to his grandmother Livia, with a chariot in the Circensian procession drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Augustus, and public offerings to the ghosts of his parents. For his father, likewise, he obtained Circensian games, to be celebrated every year, upon his birth-day, and for his mother a chariot to be drawn through the Circus, with the title of Augusta, which had been refused by his grandmother. To the memory of his brother, to which, upon all occasions, he showed a great regard, he ordered a Greek comedy of his own to be added to the games at Naples, and received the honor of a crown upon it, by the sentence of the judges in that solemnity. Nor did he omit to make honorable and grateful mention of M. Antony ; declaring by a procla-

mation, "That he the more earnestly insisted upon the observation of his father Drusus's birth-day because it was likewise that of his grandfather Antony." He completed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre, which had formerly been decreed by the Senate in honor of Tiberius, but neglected. And though he cancelled all the acts of Caius, yet he forbid the day of his assassination, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the empire, to be reckoned amongst the festivals.

XII. But in respect of his own aggrandisement, he was sparing and modest, declining the title of emperor, and refusing all excessive honors. He celebrated the marriage of his daughter and the birth-day of a grandson with great privacy, at home. He recalled none of those who had been banished, without a decree of the Senate for it: and requested of them the favor, to bring into the house with him the commander of the guards, and a few military Tribunes; and also that they would be pleased to bestow upon his procurators a judicial authority in the provinces. He asked of the Consuls likewise the privilege of holding fairs upon his private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they presented the people with any public diversions, he would rise up to them with the rest of the spectators, and pay his respects to them both by words and gestures. When the Tribunes of the commons came to wait upon him while he was on the bench, he begged to be excused if he desired them to speak to him standing, because otherwise he could not hear them, by reason of the crowd. By this behaviour, in a short time, he wrought himself so much into the favor and affection of the public, that when, upon his going to Ostia, a report was spread in town that he had been way-laid
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and slain, the people never ceased cursing the foldiers for traitors, and the Senate as parricides, until one or two persons, and presently after several others, were brought by the magistrates upon the Rostra, who assured them that he was alive, and not far from the city, upon his return home.

XIII. Conspiracies however were formed against him, not only by individuals separately, but by several in conjunction; and at last his government was disturbed with a civil war. A common man was found with a poniard, near his chamber, at mid-night. Two men of the Equestrian Order were discovered waiting for him in the streets, armed with a tuck and a huntsman's dagger; one of them intending to attack him as he came out of the theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Gallus Asinius, and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, formed against him a conspiracy, in which they engaged many of his freedmen and slaves. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, raised a civil war against him, but was reduced in the space of five days; the legions which had been seduced by him to revolt, relinquishing their purpose, upon a fright occasioned by ill omens. For when orders were given them to march, to meet their new emperor, the eagles could not be dressed, or the other standards pulled out of the ground, whether it was by accident, or a divine interposition.

XIV. Besides his former Consulship, he held the office afterwards four times: the first two successively, but the following, after an interval of four years each; the last for six months, the rest for two; and his third, upon being chosen in the room of a Consul that died; which

had never been done by any of the emperors before him. Whether he was Consul or not, he gave constant attendance in the courts for the administration of justice, even upon such days as were solemnly observed as days of rejoicing in his family, or by his friends; and sometimes upon the public festivals of ancient institution, or unlucky days. Nor did he always adhere strictly to the letter of the laws, but over-ruled the rigor or lenity of many, according to his sentiments of justice and equity. For where persons lost their suits by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due, before the judges of private causes, he granted them the indulgence of a second trial. And with regard to such as were convicted of any great villainy, he would even exceed the punishment appointed by law, and condemn them to be exposed to wild beasts.

XV. But in the hearing and determining of causes, he showed a strange variety of humor, being one while circumspect and sagacious, another while inconsiderate and rash, and sometimes frivolous, and like one in a state of insipieny. In cancelling the names of persons upon the judges' list, he struck off one, who, concealing the privilege he had by his children to be excused from that service, had answered to his name, as too fond of the office. Another that was summoned before the emperor upon a cause of his own, but alledged that the affair did not properly come under his cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he ordered to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and give a specimen in a business of his own, how equitable a judge he would prove in that of other persons. A woman refusing to acknowledge her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by enjoining her to marry the young man. He was much inclined to determine
causes

causes in favor of the party that appeared, against such as did not, without enquiring whether their absence was occasioned by their own fault, or real necessity. On proclamation of a man's being convicted of forgery, and that he ought to have his hand cut off, he insisted that an executioner should be immediately sent for, with a sword and a butcher's block. A person being prosecuted for falsely assuming the freedom of Rome, and a dispute arising betwixt the advocates in the cause, whether he ought to make his defence in the Roman or Grecian dress, to shew his impartiality, he commanded him to change his cloaths several times according as he was accused or defended. An anecdote is related of him, and believed to be true, that, in a particular cause, he delivered his sentence, which he had in writing before him, in the following words: "I give it for those who have supported their pretensions with truth." By this kind of behaviour he so much forfeited the good opinion of the world, that he was every where and openly despised. A person making an excuse for the non-appearance of a witness whom he had sent for from the provinces, declared it was impossible for him to appear, concealing the reason for some time: at last, after several interrogatories were put to him on the subject, he answered, "The man died lately at Puteoli." Another thanking him, for suffering a person that was prosecuted to make his defence by counsel, added, "And yet it is no more than what is usual." I have likewise heard some old men say, that the pleaders in court used to abuse his patience so grossly, that they would not only call him back, as he was quitting the bench, but would seize him by the lap of his coat, and sometimes catch him by the heels to make him stay. That such behaviour, however strange, is not incredible, will appear from this anecdote. Some obscure Greek

that had a cause before him, in a warm debate which happened upon it, cried out to him: "Thou art an old fellow, and a fool too." It is certain that a Roman knight, who was falsely prosecuted by a malicious contrivance of his enemy's, as guilty of unnatural lewdness with women, observing that common strumpets were summoned and allowed to give evidence against him, upbraided him in very severe language with his folly and cruelty, and then threw his style, and some books which he had in his hand, straight in his face, with such violence as to give him a considerable wound in the cheek.

XVI. He likewise took upon him the office of Censor, which had been discontinued, since the time that Paullus and Plancus had held it in conjunction. But upon this occasion, again, he behaved very unequally, and with a strange variety of humor and conduct. In his review of those who were allowed a war-horse by the public, he dismissed, without any mark of infamy, a profligate young man, only because his father expressed his approbation of his behaviour, saying, "He has his own proper censor." Another, who was infamous for the debauching of youth, both male and female, and adultery, he only admonished "to indulge his youthful inclinations more sparingly, or at least more cautiously;" adding, "Why must I know what mistress you keep?" When, at the request of his friends, he had taken off a mark of infamy which he had set upon one gentleman's name, he said, "Let the blot however remain." He not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a man of great distinction, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language. Nor did he suffer any one to give an account of his life by an advocate, but obliged each man to speak

ſpeak for himſelf, however meanly he was qualified for the purpoſe. He diſgraced many, and ſome that little expected it, and for a reaſon entirely new, namely, for going out of Italy without his knowledge and permiſſion; and one likewiſe, for having attended in his province upon a king, as his companion: obſerving that, in former times, Rabirius Poſthumus had been proſecuted for treaſon, only upon the account of attending Ptolemy to Alexandria, to ſecure payment of a debt. Several others, whom he attempted to diſgrace, through the great negligence of the perſons employed to enquire into people's characters, he, to his own greater ſhame, found perfectly innocent; thoſe whom he charged with living in celibacy, want of children, or eſtate, proving themſelves to be huſbands, parents, and in affluent circumſtances. One that was accused of an attempt made upon his own life by the ſword, ſtripped himſelf to let him ſee there was not the leaſt mark of violence upon his body. The following incidents were remarkable in his Cenſorſhip. He ordered a ſilver chaiſe, of very ſumptuous workmanſhip, and which was expoſed to ſale at the Sigillaria, to be purchaſed, and hewed in pieces before his eyes. He publiſhed twenty proclamations in one day; in one of which he adviſed the people, " Since the vintage was very plentiful, to have their caſks well ſecured at the bung with pitch." And in another he told them, " that nothing would ſooner cure the bite of a viper, than the ſap of the yew-tree."

XVII. He undertook only one expedition, and that only of ſhort continuance. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the Senate, he conſidered as below the imperial dignity, and was therefore reſolved to have the honor of a complete triumph. For this purpoſe, he

made choice of the province of Britain, which had never been attempted by any since Julius Cæsar, and was then in an uproar, because the Romans would not restore to them some deserters from that island. Accordingly he set sail from Ostia, but was twice very near being sunk by the boisterous wind called Circius, upon the coast of Liguria, and near the islands called Stœchades. Making therefore his way by land from Massilia to Gessoriacum, he thence passed over into Britain. A part of the island submitting, within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed, he returned to Rome in less than six months from the time of his departure, and triumphed in the most solemn manner; to the sight of which, he not only permitted some governors of provinces to come to town, but some likewise who were in banishment. Amongst the spoils taken from the enemy, he fixed upon the dome of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown near the civic which was there before, in token of his having passed, and as it were, conquered the Ocean. Messalina his wife followed his chariot in a *Carpentum**. Those who had attained the honor of triumphal ornaments in the same war, came after in chariots, the rest on foot, and clad in the robe used by the great officers of state. Crassus Frugi was mounted upon a horse richly accoutred, in an embroidered robe, because this was the second time of his attaining that honor.

XVIII. He was particularly attentive to the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire

* The *Carpentum* was a carriage, commonly with two wheels, and an arched covering, but sometimes without a covering; used chiefly by matrons, and named, according to Ovid, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander. Women were prohibited the use of it in the second Punic war, by the Oppian law, which however was soon after repealed.

happening

happening in the *Æmiliana*, which continued some time, he passed two nights in the *Diribitorium**; and the soldiers and gladiators not being sufficient to extinguish it, he summoned the commonalty by the magistrates out of all the streets in town, to their assistance. Placing baskets full of money before him, he encouraged the people to do their utmost, declaring, that he would immediately, upon the spot, reward every one of them according to their merit.

XIX. During a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by bad crops for some years successively, he was stopped in the middle of the Forum by the mob, who attacked him with such scurrilous reproaches, and pieces of bread, that it was with some difficulty he at last escaped by a back-door into the palace. He therefore used all possible means to bring provisions to the city, even in the winter. He proposed to the merchants employed in that traffic a sure profit, by taking upon himself any loss that might befall them at sea; and to such as built ships for that purpose, he granted great privileges, according to their respective circumstances: to a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the *Papia-Poppæan* law; to one who had only the privilege of *Latium*, the freedom of the city; and to women the right which by law belonged to such as had four children: which constitutions, regulated by him, are observed to this day.

* The *Diribitorium* was a house begun by Agrippa, and finished by Augustus, in which soldiers were mustered and received their pay. It was also a place where, when the Romans went to give their votes at the election of magistrates, they were conducted by officers named *Diribitores*. It is possible that one and the same building may have been used for both purposes.

XX. He executed several projects which were rather great than necessary. The principal were, an aqueduct, which had been begun by Caius, a canal for the discharge of the Fucine lake, and the harbour of Ostia; though he knew that one of these had by Augustus been denied to the Marrians, who frequently applied to him upon the subject; and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Cæsar, but as often abandoned on account of the difficulty of execution. He brought to the city the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water, one of which is called Cæruleus, and the other Curtius and Albudinus: as likewise the river of the new Anio in a stone canal, and disposed of them into many fine lakes. He attempted the Fucine Lake, as much from the expectation of advantage, as the glory of the execution; since some offered to drain it at their own expence, upon condition that they might have a grant of the land which it occupied. He completed a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly levelling a mountain, but with great difficulty; thirty thousand men being constantly employed in that work during eleven years. He formed the harbour at Ostia, by raising to the right and left two prodigious works, with a bend into the sea, making a mole at the entrance in a deep water. To secure the foundation of the superstructure, he sunk the vessel in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt; and built upon piles a high tower, in imitation of that of Pharos, upon which to fix lights, for the direction of mariners in the night.

XXI. He often gave largesses to the people, and entertained them with a great variety of public diversions, not only such as were usual, and in the usual places, but some of new invention, others revived from antiquity,

and in places where nothing of the kind had ever before been exhibited. In the games that he presented upon the opening of Pompey's theatre, which had been burnt, and was rebuilt by him, he presided upon a throne erected for him in the Orchestra ; having first paid his devotions in the upper part ; then coming down through the middle of the Cavea, whilst all the people kept their seats with profound silence. He likewise exhibited the Secular Games under pretence of their having been anticipated by Augustus ; though he himself says in his history, " That they had been neglected before Augustus, who had made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought them into their former order." The crier was therefore ridiculed, when he invited people in the usual form, " To games which no person had ever before seen, nor ever would again ;" when many were still living who had seen them ; and some of the players who had formerly acted upon the occasion were now again brought upon the stage. He likewise frequently presented the Circensian games in the Vatican, sometimes with a hunting of wild beasts, after every five courses. He beautified the great Circus with marble barriers, and gilded goals, which before were of common stone and wood, and assigned proper places for the Senators, who were used to sit promiscuously with the other spectators. Besides the chariot-races, he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were encountered by a troop of the horse-guards, with Tribunes, and the commander in chief at the head of them : besides Thessalian horse, that drive mad bulls round the Circus, leap upon their backs when they are tired, and pull them down by the horns to the ground. He gave shows of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds : an anniversary one in the Prætorian camp ; but without any hunting, or the usual apparatus :

paratus : another as usual in the Septa ; and in the same place, another out of the common way, and of a few days' continuance only, which he called *Sportula* ; because when he was going to present it, he informed the people by proclamation, " that he invited them as it were to a small supper." Nor was he in any kind of public diversion more free or chearful ; inasmuch that he would, with the common people, hold out his left hand, and count upon his fingers aloud, the gold pieces presented to such as came off conquerors. He would invite the company by earnest exhortations to be merry ; now and then calling them his " masters," with a mixture of insipid, far-fetched jests. Thus, when the people called for Palumbus * (a gladiator), he said, " He would give them one when it was caught." And the following likewise, though well-intended, and well-timed, when having with great applause discharged an Eshedarian, upon the intercession of his four sons, he sent a billet immediately round the theatre, to remind the people, " how much it concerned them to have children, since they had before them an instance, how useful they had been to procure favor and security for a gladiator." He likewise represented in the Field of Mars, the taking and sacking of a town, as also the surrender of the British kings, and presided in his general's cloak. Immediately before the discharging of the Fucine lake, he exhibited upon it a naval fight. But those on board the fleets crying out, " Health attend you, noble emperor : dying men salute you ;" and he replying, " Health attend you too," they all refused to fight upon it, as if by that answer he had meant to excuse them. Upon this incident, he was in doubt with himself whether he should not destroy them all by fire

* A pun upon the name of Palumbus, which signifies a wood-pigeon,

and sword. At last leaping from his seat, running along the side of the lake, and reeling to a ridiculous degree, he, partly by fair words, and partly by reproaches, persuaded them to engage. One of the fleets was from Sicily, the other from Rhodes ; consisting each of twelve ships of war, of three banks of oars. The signal of charge was given by a silver Triton, raised by mechanism.

XXII. With regard to religion, the management of affairs both civil and military, and the condition of the several Orders of the people at home and abroad, some usages he corrected, others which had been laid aside he revived, and some regulations he introduced entirely new. In choosing new priests into the several companies of them, he nominated none but upon oath. As often as an earthquake happened in the city, he never failed to summon the people together by the Prætor, and appoint holidays for religious worship. And upon the sight of any ominous bird in the city or Capitol, he issued an order for public prayers, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high-priest, after an exhortation to the people from the Rostra, he repeated before them, for them to join in, all common mechanics and slaves being first ordered to withdraw.

XXIII. The courts of judicature, which had formerly been used to sit only some months in the summer, and some in winter, he ordered, for the dispatch of business, to sit the whole year round. The jurisdiction in matters of trust, which used to be granted annually by special commission to certain magistrates, and in the city only, he granted in perpetuity, and the same to the provinces likewise. He repealed a clause added by Tiberius to the Papia-Poppæan law, as if men of sixty years of age were

were incapable of begetting children. He ordered that orphans should have guardians appointed them by the Consuls; and that those who were banished from any province by the chief magistrate, should be debarred from coming into the city, or any part of Italy. He inflicted upon some a new sort of banishment, by forbidding them to stir above three miles from Rome. When any affair of importance came before the Senate, he used to sit betwixt the two Consuls upon the tribune-bench. He arrogated to himself the power of granting licence to travel out of Italy, which before had belonged to the Senate.

XXIV. He likewise granted the Consular ornaments to his procurators called Ducenarii. From such as declined the Senatorian dignity, he took away that of the Equestrian; though he had in the beginning of his reign declared, that he would elect no man into the Senate that was not the great-grandson of a Roman Senator. Yet he gave the *Latus Clavus* to the son of a freedman, upon condition that he should be adopted by a Roman knight. Being afraid however of incurring censure by such an act, he informed the public, that his ancestor Appius Cæcus, the Censor, had elected the sons of freedmen into the Senate; for he was ignorant, it seems, that in the times of Appius, and a long while after, persons manumised were not called *Libertini*, but their sons that were free-born. Instead of the expence which the Quæstors were obliged to be at, for the paving of the highways, he ordered them to give the people a show of gladiators; and divesting them of the provinces of the Ostian and Gallic coast, he restored to them the charge of the treasury, which, since the time it was taken from them, had been managed by the Prætors, or those who had formerly been such. He gave the triumphal ornaments to

Silanus,

Silanus, contracted to his daughter, though he was under age ; but to elder people in such numbers, and so easily, that he was unanimously addressed by all the legions “ to grant his Consular lieutenants the triumphal ornaments with their commissions, to prevent their engaging in unnecessary wars.” He gave A. Plautius the honor of an ovation, and meeting him at his entering the city, walked with him into the Capitol, and back again. And he allowed Gabinius Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chauci, a nation of Germany, to assume the cognomen of Chaucius.

XXV. His management, with regard to the promotion of the Equestrian Order in the army, was this. After the command of a battalion, he granted that of the horse in a legion, and subsequently the commission of a Tribune. He raised a body of militia, which he called *Supernumeraries*, who, though only nominal soldiers, yet received pay. He procured an act of the Senate to prohibit all soldiers from attending Senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freedmen who presumed to take upon them the Equestrian dignity. Such of them as were ungrateful to their patrons, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their former condition of slavery ; and declared to their advocates, that he would never give judgment against their freedmen, in any suit at law which they might happen to have with them. Some persons having exposed their sick slaves, who were in a languishing condition, in the island of Æsculapius, because of the tediousness of their cure ; he declared all who were so exposed perfectly free, never more, if they should recover, to return to their former servitude : and that if any one chose rather to kill than expose a slave, he should, in that case, be liable to a prosecution for murder. He

published a proclamation, forbidding all travellers to pass through the towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot, or in a litter or chair. He quartered a battalion of soldiers at Puteoli, and another at Ostia, to be in readiness against any accidents from fire. He forbid foreigners the use of such Roman names as were appropriated to families. Those who falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome, he beheaded in the field of Esquilæ. He returned to the Senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had taken under his own care. He took from the Lycians their liberty, to punish them for their civil dissensions; but restored to the Rhodians their freedom, upon their repentance for their former misdemeanors. He absolved from the payment of all taxes for ever, the Ilienians, as being the founders of the Roman people; reciting upon the occasion a letter in Greek, from the Senate and people of Rome to king Seleucus, in which they promised him their friendship and alliance, provided that he would grant their kinsmen the Ilienians an immunity from all burdens. He banished from Rome all the Jews, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus. He allowed the ambassadors of the Germans to sit at the public diversions in the seats assigned to the Senators, being induced to this indulgence by the frankness and assurance of their behaviour. For having been seated amongst the common people, upon observing the ambassadors from Parthia and Armenia sitting with the Senators, they went over to them, as being, they said, no way inferior to them in point either of merit or quality. The savage religion of the Druids, which had only been forbidden the citizens of Rome, during the reign of Augustus, he utterly abolished. On the other hand, he endeavored to transfer the Eleusinian mysteries from Attica to Rome. He likewise ordered the temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily,

cily, which was old and in a ruinous condition, to be repaired at the public expence. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the Forum, with the sacrifice of a sow, and the form of words used by the heralds in former times. But in these and other things, and indeed the greater part of his administration, he acted not so much by himself, as by the influence of his wives and freedmen; being for the most part directed in conformity to their interests and humor.

XXVI. He was, at a very early age, contracted to two wives, Æmilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Augustus, and Livia Medullina, who had the cognomen of Camilla, and was descended from the old Dictator Camillus. The former he divorced in a state of virginity, because her parents had incurred the displeasure of Augustus; and the latter died of sickness upon the day fixed for their nuptials. He next married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had enjoyed the honor of a triumph; and soon after Ælia Pætina, the daughter of a man of Consular rank. But he divorced them both: Pætina, upon some frivolous offence; and Urgulanilla, for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murder. After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Barbatus Messala, his cousin. But finding that, besides her other shameful debaucheries, she had married C. Silius, the document relative to her fortune being formally signed, as usual, in the presence of Auspices, he put her to death. Then summoning his guards into his presence, he made to them this declaration: "As I have been so unhappy in my marriages, I am resolved to continue in future a widower; and if I should not, I give you leave to stab me." He was however unable to persist in this resolution; for he began immediately to think of another wife; and of taking back again Pætina, whom he had
formerly

formerly divorced ; as also Lollia Paullina, who had been married to Caius Cæsar. But being enticed by the arts of Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, upon the occasion of that familiar dalliance which their near relation admitted, he industriously procured a member of the Senate, at the next meeting, to declare it to be his opinion, that they should oblige the emperor to marry Agrippina, as a measure highly conducive to the public good ; and that all others ought to be allowed the liberty of such matches, which until that time had been considered as incestuous. In less than twenty-four hours after this he married her. No person was found, however, to follow the example, excepting one freedman, and a Centurion of the first rank, at the solemnization of whose nuptials, both he and Agrippina attended.

XXVII. He had children by three wives : by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia ; by Pætina, Antonia ; and by Messalina, Octavia, and a son, whom at first he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannicus. He lost Drusus while a minor, at Pompeii, being choaked with a pear, which in play he tossed up into the air, and caught upon its descent in his mouth. He had but a few days before concluded a match betwixt him and one of Sejanus's daughters : for which reason, I am surprised that some authors should say he lost his life by the treachery of Sejanus. Claudia, who was indeed the daughter of Boter his freed-man, though she was born five months before his divorcing her mother, he ordered to be thrown naked at her door. He married Antonia to Cn. Pompey the Great *, afterwards to Faustus Sylla, both youths of very

* It would seem from this passage, that the *cognomen* of "the Great" had now been restored to the descendants of Cn. Pompey who had first obtained that appellation.

noble parentage : Octavia to his step-son Nero, after she had been contracted to Silanus. Britannicus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his second Consulship: He would often hold him in his arms, and recommend him to the favor of the soldiers ; and he would likewise to the common people in the theatre, setting him upon his lap, or before him, whilst he was as yet but very little, and would join in their acclamations, and good wishes in his behalf. Of his sons-in-law, he adopted Nero. He not only dismissed from his favor both Pompey and Silanus, but put them to death.

XXVIII. Amongst his freedmen, the greatest favorite was the eunuch Pofides, whom, in his British triumph, he presented with the *Hasta Pura*, as he did likewise several others of the army. Next to him, if not equal, in favor was Felix *, whom he not only dignified with a command both of foot and horse in the troops, but made governor of Judea ; and he became, in consequence of his elevation, the husband of three queens. Another favorite was Harpocras, to whom he granted the privilege of using a chair in the city, and of entertaining the people with public diversions. In this class was likewise Polybius who

* This is the Felix mentioned in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles ; who, when St. Paul spoke of “ justice and temperance, and the judgment to come, trembled.” Whether his agitation arose from any compunction of mind, for having been concerned in the dark and bloody transactions which passed at the court of Claudius, it is impossible to determine. His fortune, however, in marrying three queens, was extraordinary ; and to the completion of it, he seems to have only wanted what the same apostle benevolently wished to Festus, his successor in the government of Judea.

assisted him in his studies, and had often the honor to walk betwixt the two Consuls. But above all others, Narcissus his secretary, and Pallas the comptroller of his household, were highly in favor with him. These he not only suffered to be honored, by a decree of the Senate, with immense presents, but with Quæstorian and Prætorian ornaments. So much did he indulge them in amassing treasure, and plundering the public, that, upon his complaining once of the lowness of his exchequer, some persons made the remark, that "It would be full enough, if those two freedmen of his would but take him into partnership with them."

XXIX. Being entirely governed by these men, and his wives, as I have already said, he was a tool to the purposes of others, rather than a prince. He distributed offices, or the command of armies, pardoned or punished, according as it suited their interests, their passions, or their caprice; and for the most part, without perceiving, or being sensible of what he did. Not to recount particularly every inferior transaction relative to the revocation of grants, the reversion of judicial decisions, the presenting him with false patents of offices to sign, or the bare-faced alteration of them after signing; he put to death Appius Silanus, the father of his son-in-law; and the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any positive proof of the crimes with which they were charged, or so much as permitting them to make any defence. He acted in the same manner towards Cn. Pompey, the husband of his elder daughter, and L. Silanus, who was contracted to the younger. Pompey was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a favorite paramour. Silanus was obliged to quit the office of Prætor upon the fourth of the Calends of

8

January,

January, and to kill himself in the beginning of the year following, upon the very day when Claudius and Agrippina were married. He condemned to death five and thirty Senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, with so little attention to what he did, that when a Centurion brought him word of the execution of a man of Consular rank, who was one of the number, and told him that he had executed his order, he declared, “ he had ordered no such thing, but that he approved of it;” because his freedman, it seems, had said, the soldiers did nothing more than their duty, in running of their own accord to revenge the emperor upon his enemies. But it is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the marriage of Messalina with the adulterous Silius, should sign the writings relative to her dowry; induced, as is said, by a pretence, that the transaction was meant only to divert and transfer upon another that danger, which, from ill-boding omens, seemed to threaten himself.

XXX. Either standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, he had a majestic and graceful appearance; for he was tall, but not slender. His grey locks became him well, and he had a fat neck. But his limbs were feeble, and failed him in walking; and his action, whether in mirth or business, was very ungraceful. His laughter was unbecoming, and his passion yet more so; for then he would froth at the mouth, and his nose would drop. He had besides a stammering in his speech, and a tremulous motion of the head, at all times, but particularly when he was engaged in action, were it ever so little.

XXXI. Though in the former part of his life he was valetudinary, yet, after his advancement to the empire, he

enjoyed a good state of health, except only that he was subject to a pain of the stomach. In a fit of this complaint, he said, he had thoughts of killing himself.

XXXII. In his convivial entertainments he was no less frequent than splendid, and commonly gave them in places so very spacious, that it was usual with him to have six hundred guests at his table. Upon his feasting close by the trench made for draining the Fucine Lake, he narrowly escaped being drowned; the water at its discharge rushing out with such violence, that it overflowed the canal. At supper, he had always his own children, with those of several of the nobility, who, according to an ancient custom, sat at the feet of the couches. One of his guests having been suspected of stealing a gold cup, he invited him again the next day, but served him with an earthen jug. It is said too that he intended to publish a proclamation, "allowing to all people the liberty of giving vent to any distention from flatulence, at table," upon hearing of a person, whose modesty, in a restraint of that nature, had like to have cost him his life*.

XXXIII. He would eat and drink very heartily at any time, or in any place. As he was sitting for the trial of causes in the Forum of Augustus, upon smelling the dinner which was preparing for the Salii †, in the temple

* History blushes in recording anecdotes offensive to delicacy: but truth and justice require that the names of those princes should be stigmatized through all ages, who have degraded the throne by their folly, as much as they have polluted it by their crimes.

† The *Salii* were the priests of Mars, twelve in number,
and

temple of Mars adjoining, he quitted the bench, and went to partake of the feast with the priests. He scarcely ever left the table, until he was thoroughly crammed and drunk; when he would immediately fall asleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open. While in this condition, a feather was put down his throat, to make him disgorge again. Upon composing himself to rest, his sleep was short, and he usually awaked before midnight; but he would sometimes sleep in the day-time, and that even upon the bench; so that the advocates often found it difficult to awake him, though they raised their voices for that purpose. In respect of women he was extremely libidinous, but never betrayed any unnatural passion for the other sex. He was fond of gaming, and published a book upon the subject. He even used to play as he rode in his chariot; having the tables so fitted, that the game was not disturbed by the motion of the carriage.

XXXIV. The savage cruelty of his disposition was

and instituted by Numa. Their dress was an embroidered tunic, bound with a girdle ornamented with brass. They had on their head a conical cap, of a considerable height; a sword by their side; in their right hand, a spear or rod, and in their left, one of the *Ancilia*, or shields of Mars. On solemn occasions, they used to go to the Capitol, through the Forum and other public parts of the city, dancing and singing sacred songs, said to have been composed by Numa; which, in the time of Horace, could hardly be understood by any one, even the priests themselves. The most solemn procession of the *Salii* was on the first of March, in commemoration of the time when the sacred shield was believed to have fallen from heaven, in the reign of Numa. After their procession, they had a splendid entertainment, the luxury of which was proverbial.

evident upon many occasions, both of great and small consideration. When any suspected person was to be put to the torture, or any criminal punished for parricide, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed before his eyes. When he was at Tibur, being desirous of seeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, some were immediately tied to a stake for the purpose; but there being no executioner to be had at the place, he sent for one from Rome, and waited for his coming until night. In any show of gladiators, presented either by himself or others, if any of the combatants happened to fall, he ordered them to be butchered; especially the *Retiarii*, that he might see their faces in the agonies of death. Two gladiators happening to kill each other, he immediately ordered some little knives to be made of their swords for his own use. He took great pleasure in seeing men engage with wild beasts, and the combatants that performed their parts at noon. He would therefore come to the theatre by break of day, and at noon would dismiss the people to dinner, but continue sitting himself; and besides such as were devoted to that sanguinary fate, he would match others with the beasts, or one another, upon slight or sudden occasions; as, for instance, the carpenters and their assistants, if a machine, or any piece of work in which they had been employed about the theatre, did not answer the purpose for which it had been intended. To this desperate kind of encounter he forced one of his nomenclators, and, what was an aggravation of the cruelty, in the incommodious habit of the toga.

XXXV. But the characteristics most predominant in him were fear and distrust. In the beginning of his reign, though he much affected a modest and humble appearance,

appearance, as has been already observed, yet he durst not venture himself at an entertainment without his guard of lances to attend him, and soldiers to wait upon him at table. He never visited a sick person, until the chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined. At other times, all persons who came to pay their respects to him were strictly searched, by officers appointed for that purpose ; nor was it until after a long time, and with much difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to excuse women, boys, and girls, from the rude handling they underwent upon those occasions, or suffer their attendants or writing-masters to keep their cases for pens and styles, which used to be taken from them. When Camillus entered upon his design against him, not doubting but he might be terrified out of his imperial dignity, without a war, he wrote to him a scurrilous, petulant, and threatening letter, desiring him to resign the government, and betake himself to a private life. Upon receiving this requisition, he summoned together the principal men of the city, to consult with them whether he ought not to comply.

XXXVI. He was so much alarmed with the rumor, though without any sufficient foundation, of conspiracies formed against him, that he thought of immediately abdicating the government. And when, as I have related, a man with a sword was discovered near him, as he was at sacrifice, he instantly convoked the Senate by the public criers, and with tears and dismal exclamations lamented his condition, that could be secure in no place ; and for a long time after, abstained from appearing in public. He withdrew his violent passion for Messalina, not so much upon account of the baseness of her behaviour towards him, as from an apprehension of danger ;

believing that she had a design to raise Silius her gallant to the imperial dignity. Upon this occasion, he ran in a great fright, and a very shameful manner, to the camp, asking all the way he went, "if his government was secure."

XXXVII. The most trifling suspicion, even of a person the most contemptible, never failed to throw him into a panic, and was with him a sufficient reason for proceeding to punishment, as necessary to his own security. A man who had a suit to come before him, at his waiting upon him, took him aside, and told him he dreamt that he was murdered; and presently after, when his adversary came to present a narrative of his case to the emperor, as if he had discovered the murderer, he told him that was the person; upon which, as if seized in the attempt, he was hurried away to execution. We are informed, that Appius Silanus was taken off in the same manner, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus. The latter burst into his lord's chamber before day, apparently in great fright, and told him he had dreamt that Appius Silanus had murdered him. The empress, upon this, affecting a great surprise, declared she had the like dream for several nights successively. Presently after, word being brought in, that Appius was come to court, who had received orders the preceding day to be there at that time, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture, he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death. The day following Claudius related the whole affair to the Senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freedman for watching even in his sleep for his security.

XXXVIII. Sensible of his being subject to passion and
resentment,

resentment, he excused himself on this head by a proclamation, assuring the public, "that the former should be short and harmless, and the latter never without good cause." After he had very severely reprimanded the Ostiensians for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, and as if he intended to expose them to the resentment of the public on that account, he wrote to Rome that he had been treated as a private person; yet he immediately pardoned them, and in a way that had the appearance of making them satisfaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people that addressed him unseasonably in public, he pushed away with his own hand. He likewise banished one who had been secretary to a Quæstor, and a Senator who had been Prætor, unheard and innocent: the former only because he had appeared in great heat against him, before he came to be emperor; and the other, because in his Ædileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling dressed victuals contrary to law; and ordered a bailiff of his that interposed in the affair to be whipped. On this account likewise he took from the Ædiles the jurisdiction they had over victualling-houses. He refrained not from mentioning his own folly, and declared in some short speeches which he published, that he had only counterfeited himself a fool in the reign of Caius, because otherwise it would have been impossible to have escaped, and arrive at the station in which he then was. He could not however gain public credit to this declaration: for a short time after, a book was published under the title of "The Resurrection of Fools," the design of which was to show "that no body ever counterfeited folly."

XXXIX. Amongst other things, people admired in him

him his forgetfulness and want of thought; or, to express it in Greek, his *μετewρια* and *αβελεια*. Placing himself at table a little after he had put Messalina to death, he enquired, "Why don't the empress come?" Many of those whom he had condemned to death, he ordered the day after to be invited to his table, and to game with him, and sent to reprimand them as sluggardly fellows for making no more haste. When he was about his incestuous marriage with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her, "My daughter, my nursling, born and brought up upon my lap." And when he was going to adopt Nero, as if he was not sufficiently censured for adopting his son-in-law, when he had a son of his own come to years of maturity; he now and then declared publicly, "that nobody had ever been taken by adoption into the Claudian family."

XL. He frequently appeared so careless in what he said, and so inattentive to circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected who he himself was, or amongst whom, or at what time, or in what place he spoke. Upon a debate in the Senate relative to the butchers and vintners, he cried out, "I beg of you to know who can live without a bit of meat?" He recounted to them the great plenty of old taverns, from which he himself used formerly to have his wine. Amongst other reasons of his favoring with his interest a certain person who stood candidate for the Quæstorship, he adduced this as one, "His father once gave me, very seasonably, a draught of cold water when I was sick." Upon his bringing a woman as an evidence in some cause before the Senate, he expressed himself in these words—"This woman was my mother's freedwoman and dresser, but she always considered me as her patron; and this I say, because there are some still in my family that do not look upon me as such."

such." The Ostiensians addressing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and said, "I have no reason to oblige you: if any one else is free to act as he pleases, surely I am." The following expressions he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and seasons: "What! do you take me for a Theogonius?" And in Greek, "Speak, but do not touch me;" besides many other familiar sentences, below the dignity of a private person, much more of an emperor, who was not deficient either in eloquence or learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences.

XLI. By the encouragement of Titus Livius, and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, he attempted at an early age the composition of a history; and having called together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment upon it, he read it over with much difficulty, and after several interruptions from himself. For when he had begun, a great laugh being raised amongst the company, upon the breaking of several benches by the weight of a fat over-grown man, after the confusion was over, he could not forbear from bursting out into a violent fit of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident. During his reign likewise he wrote a great deal, which he constantly had rehearsed to his friends by a reader. He began his history after the death of Cæsar the Dictator: but afterwards he came lower down, and commenced at the conclusion of the civil wars; because he found he could not speak with freedom, and a due regard to truth, concerning the latter period, having been often reprov'd for his freedom, both by his mother and grandmother. Upon the former subject, he left two books, but of the latter one and forty. He compiled likewise the history "of his own life," in eight books, full of impertinence, but in

no bad style ; as also “ A Defence of Cicero against the Books of Asinius Gallus,” which discovered a considerable degree of learning. He besides invented three new letters, and added them to the former alphabet, as highly necessary. On this subject, he published a book, whilst he was as yet but a private person. After his advancement to the empire, he introduced them into common use ; and that kind of writing is still extant in many books, registers, and inscriptions upon buildings.

XLII. He applied himself with no less attention to the study of Grecian literature, declaring upon all occasions his love of that language, and the excellency of it. A stranger once holding a discourse both in Greek and Latin, he replied to him in those words ; “ Since you are skilled in both our tongues.” And recommending Achaia to the favor of the Senate, he said, “ I have a particular attachment to that province, upon account of our common studies.” He often harangued in that language, before the Senate, by way of answer to ambassadors. Upon the bench he frequently made use of the verses of Homer. When at any time he had revenged himself upon an enemy or a conspirator, he scarcely ever gave to the Tribune upon the guard, who had come to him according to custom for the word, any other than this :

Ἀνδρ' ἐπαμυνασθαι ὅτε τις προτερος χαλεπαίνει.

When outrage loud demands the vengeful blow,
'Tis glorious justice to o'erwhelm the foe.

To conclude, he wrote some histories likewise in Greek, as twenty books of the Tuscan affairs, eight of the Carthaginian ; upon account of which another museum was
added

added to the old one at Alexandria, called by his name. At the same time, an order was issued, that, upon certain days every year, his Tuscan history should be read over in one of these, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in an auditory, each of them by their several readers in turns.

XLIII. Towards the close of his life, he gave some manifest indications of repenting of his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freedmen taking notice of his having condemned the day before a woman accused of adultery, and applauding him for it, he observed to them, “It has been my misfortune to light upon wives that have all been unfaithful to my bed: but they shall not all go unpunished.” Now and then when Britannicus came in his way, he would embrace him tenderly, and express a desire “that he might grow apace, and receive from him an account of all his actions:” using a Greek expression, the sense of which is, “He that has wounded will heal thee.” And intending to give him the manly habit, whilst he was yet under age, and a tender youth, because his stature would allow of it, he added, “I do so, that the Roman people may have a genuine Cæsar.”

XLIV. Not long after he made his will, and had it signed by all the magistrates as witnesses. But he was prevented from going farther by Agrippina, whom, besides alarms, her own guilty conscience, and several informers, accused of a variety of crimes. It is agreed that he was taken off by poison; but where, and by whom administered, remains an uncertainty. Some authors say that it was given him as he was feasting with the priests in the Capitol, by the eunuch Halotus his taster. Others
say

say by Agrippina, at his own table, in a mushroom, a thing of which he was very fond. The accounts of what followed are likewise different. Some relate that he instantly became speechless, was racked with pain through the night, and died about day-break; others, that at first he fell into a sound sleep; and afterwards his stomach heaving, he threw up the whole, but had another dose given him; whether in water-gruel, under pretence of refreshment after his discharge, or in a clyster, as if designed to relieve his bowels, is likewise uncertain.

XLV. His death was concealed until every thing was settled relative to his successor. Accordingly vows were made for his recovery, and comedians were brought to court to divert him, as was pretended, at his own desire. He died upon the third of the Ides of October, in the Consulship of Asinius Marcellus, and Acilius Aviola, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His funeral was celebrated with all the magnificence usual upon such an occasion, and he himself ranked amongst the Gods. This honor was taken from him by Nero, but restored by Vespasian.

XLVI. The chief prefages of his death were the appearance of a comet, the destruction of his father Drusus's monument by lightning, and the death of most of the magistrates of all denominations that year. It appears from several circumstances, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it. For when he nominated the Consuls, he appointed none to fill that office beyond the month in which he died. At the last assembly of the Senate in which he made his appearance, he earnestly exhorted his two sons to a good agreement betwixt themselves, and with importunate entreaties recommended

recommended the protection of their youth to the house. And the last time he sat in judgement, he repeatedly declared in open court, "That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortality," whilst all who heard it expressed their abhorrence of the omen.

THE violent death of Caligula afforded the Romans a fresh opportunity to have asserted the liberty of their country; but the conspirators had concerted no plan, by which they should proceed upon the assassination of that tyrant; and the indecision of the Senate, in a debate of two days, on so sudden an emergency, gave time for the caprice of the soldiers to interpose in the settlement of the government. By an accident the most fortuitous, a man devoid of all pretensions to personal merit, so weak in understanding, as to be the common sport of the emperor's household, and an object of contempt even to his own kindred; this man, in the hour of military insolence, was nominated by the soldiers as successor to the Roman throne. Not yet in possession of the public treasury, which perhaps was exhausted, he could not immediately reward the services of his electors with a pecuniary gratification; but he promised them a largess of fifteen thousand sesterces a man, upwards of a hundred and forty pounds sterling; and as we meet with no account of any subsequent discontents in the army, we may justly conclude that the promise was soon after fulfilled. This transaction laid the foundation of that military despotism, which, through many succeeding ages, convulsed the Roman empire.

Besides the interposition of the soldiers upon this occasion,

sion, it appears that the populace at Rome were extremely clamorous for the government of a single person, and for that of Claudius in particular. This partiality for a monarchical government proceeded from two causes. The commonalty, from their obscure situation, were always the least exposed to oppression, under a tyrannical prince. They had likewise ever been remarkably fond of stage-plays and public shows, with which, as well as with scrambles, and donations of bread and other victuals, the preceding emperor had frequently gratified them. They had therefore less to fear, and more to hope, from the government of a single person than any other class of Roman citizens. With regard to their partiality for Claudius, it may be accounted for partly from the low habits of life to which he had been addicted, in consequence of which many of them were familiarly acquainted with him; and this circumstance likewise increased their hope of deriving some advantage from his accession. Exclusive of all these considerations, it is highly probable that the populace was instigated in favor of Claudius by the artifices of his freedmen, persons of mean extraction, by whom he was afterwards entirely governed, and who, upon such an occasion, would exert their utmost efforts to procure his appointment to the throne. From the debate in the Senate having continued during two days, it is evident that there was still a strong party for restoring the ancient form of government. That they were in the end overawed by the clamor of the multitude, is not surprising, when we consider that the Senate was totally unprovided with resources of every kind, for asserting the independence of the nation by arms, and that the commonalty, who interrupted their deliberations, were the only people by whose assistance they ever could effect the restitution of public freedom. To this may be added,

added, that the Senate, by the total reduction of their political importance, ever since the overthrow of the Republic, had lost both the influence and authority which they formerly enjoyed. The extreme cruelty, likewise, which had been exercised during the last two reigns, afforded a farther motive for relinquishing all attempts in favor of liberty, as they might be severely revenged upon themselves by the subsequent emperor : and it was a degree of moderation in Claudius, which palliates the injustice of his cause, that he began his government with an act of amnesty, respecting the public transactions which ensued upon the death of Caligula.

Claudius, at the time of his accession, was fifty years of age ; and though he had hitherto lived apparently unambitious of public honors, accompanied with great ostentation, yet he was now seized with the desire of enjoying a triumph. As there existed no war, in which he might perform some military achievement, his vanity could only be gratified by invading a foreign country, where, contrary to the advice contained in the testament of Augustus, he might attempt to extend still farther the limits of the empire. Either Britain, therefore, or some nation on the continent, at a great distance from the capital, became the object of such an enterprise ; and the former was chosen, not only as more convenient, from its vicinity to the maritime province of Gaul, but on account of a remonstrance lately presented by the Britons to the court of Rome, respecting the protection afforded to some persons of that nation, who had fled thither to elude the laws of their country. Considering the state of Britain at that time, divided as it was into a number of principalities, amongst which there was no general confederacy for mutual defence, and where the

alarm, excited by the invasion of Julius Cæsar, upwards of eighty years before, had long since been forgotten ; a sudden attempt upon the island could not fail of being attended with success. Accordingly an army was sent over, under the command of Aulus Plautius, an able general, who defeated the natives in several engagements, and penetrated a considerable way into the country. Preparations for the emperor's voyage now being made, Claudius set sail from Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber ; but meeting with a violent storm in the Mediterranean, he landed at Marseilles, and proceeding thence to Boulogne in Picardy, passed over into Britain. In what part he debarked, is uncertain, but it seems to have been at some place on the south-east coast of the island. He immediately received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited those parts ; and returning to Rome, after an absence of six months, celebrated with great pomp the triumph, for which he had undertaken the expedition.

In the interior parts of Britain, the natives, under the command of Caractacus, maintained an obstinate resistance, and little progress was made by the Roman arms, until Ostorius Scapula was sent over to prosecute the war. He penetrated into the country of the Silures, a warlike tribe, who inhabited the banks of the Severn ; and having defeated Caractacus in a great battle, made him prisoner, and sent him to Rome. The fame of the British prince had by this time spread over the provinces of Gaul and Italy ; and upon his arrival in the Roman capital, the people flocked from all quarters to behold him. The ceremonial of his entrance was conducted with great solemnity. On a plain adjoining to the Roman camp, the Prætorian troops were drawn up in martial array :
the

the emperor and his court took their station in the front of the lines, and behind them was ranged the whole body of the people. The procession commenced with the different trophies which had been taken from the Britons during the progress of the war. Next followed the brothers of the vanquished prince, with his wife and daughter, in chains, expressing by their supplicating looks and gestures the fears with which they were actuated. But not so Caractacus himself. With a manly gait and an undaunted countenance, he marched up to the tribunal, where the emperor was seated, and addressed him in the following terms :

“ If to my high birth, and distinguished rank, I had added the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me rather as a friend than a captive ; and you would not have rejected an alliance with a prince, descended from illustrious ancestors, and governing many nations. The reverse of my fortune to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and horses : I possessed extraordinary riches ; and can it be any wonder that I was unwilling to lose them ? Because Rome aspires to universal dominion, must men therefore implicitly resign themselves to subjection ? I opposed for a long time the progress of your arms, and had I acted otherwise, would either you have had the glory of conquest, or I of a brave resistance ? I am now in your power : if you are determined to take revenge, my fate will soon be forgotten, and you will derive no honor from the transaction. Preserve my life, and I shall remain to the latest ages a monument of your clemency.”

Immediately upon this speech, Claudius granted him his liberty, as he did likewise to the other royal cap-

tives. They all returned their thanks, in a manner the most grateful to the emperor ; and as soon as their chains were taken off, walking towards Agrippina, who sat upon a bench at a little distance, they repeated to her the same fervent declarations of gratitude and esteem.

History has preserved no account of Caractacus after this period ; but it is probable, that he returned in a short time to his own country, where his former valor, and the magnanimity which he had displayed at Rome, would continue to render him illustrious through life, even amidst the irretrievable ruin of his fortunes.

The most extraordinary character in the present reign was that of Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus. She was married to Claudius, and had by him a son and a daughter. To cruelty in the prosecution of her purposes, she added the most abandoned incontinence. Not confining her licentiousness within the limits of the palace, where she committed the most shameful excesses, she prostituted her person in the common stews, and even in the public streets of the capital. As if her conduct was already not sufficiently scandalous, she obliged C. Silius, a man of Consular rank, to divorce his wife, that she might procure his company entirely to herself. Not contented with this indulgence to her criminal passion, she next persuaded him to marry her ; and during an excursion which the emperor made to Ostia, the ceremony of marriage was actually performed between them. The occasion was celebrated with a magnificent supper, to which she invited a large company ; and lest the whole should be regarded as a frolic, not meant to be consummated, the adulterous parties ascended the nuptial couch in the presence of the astonished spectators.

spectators. Great as was the facility of Claudius's temper in respect of her former behaviour, he could not overlook so flagrant a violation both of public decency and the laws of the country. Silius was condemned to death for the adultery which he had perpetrated with reluctance; and Messalina was ordered into the emperor's presence, to answer for her conduct. Terror now operating upon her mind in conjunction with remorse, she could not summon the resolution to support such an interview, but retired into the gardens of Lucullus, there to indulge at last the compunction which she felt for her crimes, and to meditate the entreaties by which she should endeavor to sooth the resentment of her husband. In the extremity of her distress, she attempted to lay violent hands upon herself, but her courage was unequal to the emergency. Her mother Lepida, who had not spoken with her for some years before, was present upon the occasion, and urged her to the act which could alone put a period to her infamy and wretchedness. Again she made an effort, but again her resolution abandoned her; when a Tribune burst into the gardens, and plunging his sword into her body, she instantly expired. Thus perished a woman, the scandal of whose lewdness resounded throughout the empire, and of whom a great satirist, then living, has said, perhaps without a hyperbole,

Et lassata viris, necdum satiata, recessit. JUVENAL. SAT. VI.

It has already been observed, that Claudius was entirely governed by his freedmen; a class of retainers which enjoyed a great share of favor and confidence with their patrons in those times. They had before been the slaves of their masters, and had obtained their freedom as a reward for their faithful and attentive services. Of the esteem in which they often were held, we meet

with an instance in Tiro, the freedman of Cicero ; to whom that illustrious Roman addresses several Epistles, written in the most familiar and affectionate strain of friendship. As it was common for them to be taught the more useful parts of education in the families of their masters, they were usually well qualified for the management of domestic concerns, and might even be competent to the superior departments of the state ; especially in those times, when negotiations and treaties with foreign princes seldom or never occurred ; and in arbitrary governments, where public affairs were directed more by the will of the sovereign or his ministers, than by refined suggestions of policy.

From the character generally given of Claudius, before his elevation to the throne, we should not readily imagine that he was endowed with any taste for literary composition ; yet he seems to have enjoyed, exclusively, this distinction during his own reign, in which learning was at a low ebb. Besides history, Suetonius informs us, that he wrote a Defence of Cicero against the Charges of Asinius Gallus. This appears to be the only tribute of esteem or approbation, paid to the character of Cicero, from the time of Livy the historian, to the extinction of the race of the Cæsars. Asinius Gallus was the son of Asinius Pollio, the orator. Marrying Vipsania, after she had been divorced by Tiberius, he incurred the displeasure of that emperor, and died of famine, either voluntarily, or by order of the tyrant. He wrote a comparison between his father and Cicero, in which, with more filial partiality than justice, he gave the reference to the former.

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

I. FROM the house of the Domitii sprung two celebrated families, the Calvini and Ænobarbi. The latter derive their extraction and cognomen likewise from one L. Domitius, who, it is related, as he was returning from the country to Rome, was met by two young men of a most august appearance. They desired him to carry to the Senate and people the news of a victory, concerning which no certain advice had at that time reached the city. To assure him that they were more than mortals, they stroked his cheeks, and by that means changed his beard from a black to a ruddy color, resembling that of brags; which mark of distinction descended to his posterity, for they had generally red beards. The family had after this the honor of seven Consulships, one triumph, and two Censorships; and being advanced to the rank of nobility, all continued the use of the same cognomen, and no other prænomena than those of Cneius and Lucius; which they retained, however, with remarkable irregularity; sometimes adhering to one of them for three persons successively, and then again-changing them alternately. For the first, second, and third of the Ænobarbi had that of Lucius, and again the three following, successively, that of Cneius; but those who came after were called, one, Lucius, and the other, Cneius, by turns. It appears to me proper, to give a short account of several of the family,

mily, to show that Nero so far degenerated from the noble qualities of his ancestors, that he retained only the vices of the family, as if those alone had been transmitted to him by his descent.

II. To begin therefore at a remote period, his great-grandfather's grandfather, when he was Tribune of the commons, being offended with the high priests for electing another than him into their number, in the room of his father, procured the promulgation of a law for transferring the right of those elections from the priests to the people. In his Consulship, having conquered the Allobroges and the Arverni, he made a tour of the province, mounted upon an elephant, with a body of soldiers attending him in a sort of triumphal pomp. Of this person the orator Licinius Crassus said, "It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of iron, and a heart of lead." His son, during his Prætorship, proposed that C. Cæsar, upon the expiration of his Consulship, should be called to an account before the Senate for his administration of that office, which was supposed to be contrary both to the auspicious and the laws. Afterwards, when he was Consul, he attempted to have him recalled from the army, and having been by intrigue and cabal appointed his successor, he was in the beginning of the civil war made prisoner at Corfinium. Being dismissed upon that occasion, he went some time after to Marseilles, which then was besieged; where having by his presence animated the people to hold out, he on a sudden left them again, and at last was slain in the battle of Pharsalia. He was a man of little constancy, and of a fullen temper. Having once in a desperate situation had recourse to poison, he was, immediately upon taking it, so terrified with the thoughts of dying, that he took a vomit to throw it up again,

again, and manumitted his physician, for having purposely given him only a gentle dose of the poison. When Cn. Pompey was consulting with his friends in what manner he should conduct himself towards those who were neuter, he alone gave his opinion that they ought to be treated as enemies.

III. He left behind him a son, who was without doubt the best man of the family. He was by the Pedian law condemned, though innocent, amongst others who were concerned in the death of Cæsar. Upon this, he went over to Brutus and Cassius his near relations ; and after their death, not only kept the fleet, the command of which had been given him some time before, but augmented it likewise. At last, when the party had every where been defeated, he voluntarily surrendered it to M. Antony ; considering it as a piece of service for which the latter owed him no small obligations. Of all those who were condemned by the law abovementioned, he was the only man that was restored to his country, and obtained the several offices of state. Upon a fresh difference breaking out, he had the commission of a lieutenant-general under the same Antony, and was offered the chief command in that war, by those who were ashamed of Cleopatra ; but not daring, on account of a sudden indisposition with which he was seized, either to accept or refuse it, he went over to Augustus, and died a few days after, not without an aspersion cast upon his memory. For Antony openly said, that his changing sides was owing to an impatience to be with his mistress, Servilia Nais.

IV. The person abovementioned was the father of that Domitius, who was afterwards well known as the purchaser

purchaser of his family in Augustus's will ; being no less famous in his youth, for his dexterity in chariot-driving, than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great arrogance, prodigality, and cruelty. When he was *Ædile*, he obliged L. Plancus the Censor to give him the way ; and in his *Prætorship*, and *Consulship*, he brought upon the stage Roman knights and married women, to act in a mimic piece. He gave chases of wild beasts, both in the Circus and in all the wards of the city ; as also a show of gladiators ; but with such barbarity, that Augustus, having given him a private reprimand for it, to no purpose, was obliged to lay a restraint upon him by proclamation.

V. He had by the elder Antonia the father of Nero, in every part of his life a man of execrable character. In his attendance upon C. Cæsar into the east, he killed a freedman of his own, for refusing to drink as much as he commanded him. He was on this account dismissed from Cæsar's company, but profited nothing by the disgrace. For in a village upon the Appian road, he drove his chariot over a poor boy, and crushed him all to pieces. At Rome, he struck out an eye of a Roman knight in the Forum, only for some free language in a dispute that happened betwixt them. He was likewise so fraudulent that he not only cheated some bankers of the price of goods he had bought of them, but, in his *Prætorship*, defrauded the furnishers of chariots for the Circensian games, of the prizes due to them for their victory. His sister interposing with him upon the subject, and a complaint being likewise made by them, he procured a law to be passed, " That for the future, the prizes should be immediately paid them." A little before the death of Tiberius, he

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was prosecuted for treason, adultery with several women, and incest with his sister Lepida ; but escaped by a change of the times, and died of a dropfy at Pyrgi, leaving behind him his son Nero, whom he had by Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus.

VI. Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, upon the eighteenth of the Calends of January, just as the sun rose ; so that its beams reached him, before they could well reach the earth. Whilst many and dismal conjectures, with regard to his future fortune, were formed by different persons, from the circumstances of his nativity, a saying of his father Domitius was regarded as an ill presage, who told his friends that were congratulating him upon the occasion, “ That nothing but what was detestable, and pernicious to the public, could ever be produced of him and Agrippina.” Another manifest prognostic of his future unhappiness occurred upon his lustration-day. For C. Cæsar being requested by his sister to give the child what name he thought proper, looking at his uncle Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, and adopted him, said he gave his ; and this not seriously, but only in jest ; Agrippina rejecting it with indignation, because Claudius at that time was a mere laughing-stock at court. He lost his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his estate ; of which he never got possession, the whole being seized by his co-heir Caius. His mother being soon after banished, he lived with his aunt Lepida in a very necessitous condition, under two tutors, a dancing-master and a barber. After Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father’s estate, but was enriched with the additional inheritance of that of his step-father Crispus Passienus. Upon his mother’s recall from banishment,

ment, by means of her interest with the emperor, he made such a figure at court, that some assassins, it was reported, were employed by Messalina, Claudius's wife, to strangle him, as the rival of Britannicus, whilst he was taking a sleep about mid-day. In addition to the story, it was said that they were frightened by a serpent, which crept from under his pillow, and ran away. The tale was occasioned by finding near the bolster the skin of that species of animal, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a bracelet of gold. This ornament, at last, from an aversion to her memory, he laid aside, but sought for again, in vain, in the time of his extremity.

VII. Before he was arrived at the age of puberty, during the celebration of the Circensian games, he performed his part in the Trojan diversion with great firmness, and the general approbation of the spectators. In the eleventh year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and placed under the tuition of Annæus Seneca, at that time a Senator. It is said, that Seneca dreamt the night after, that he was giving a lecture to Caius Cæsar. Nero in a short time verified his dream, betraying by all the means in his power the savage cruelty of his disposition. For he attempted to persuade his father that his brother Britannicus was nothing but a supposititious boy, only because the latter had saluted him after his adoption, by the name of *Ænobarbus* as usual. When his aunt Lepida was brought upon her trial, he appeared in court as an evidence against her, to gratify his mother, who entertained a virulent enmity against her. Upon his solemn introduction into the Forum, he gave a largess to the people and soldiers: for the Prætorian band, he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and marched at the head of them with a shield

shield in his hand ; after which he went to return thanks to his father in the Senate. Before Claudius likewise, when Consul, he made a speech for the Bononians in Latin, and for the Rhodians and Ilienſians in Greek. He ſat for the firſt time as a judge for the hearing of cauſes, when he was made Præfect of the city in the Latin holidays ; at which time the moſt celebrated pleaders employed his attention, not with eaſy ſhort trials, as uſual in that caſe, but with trials of importance, notwithstanding they had inſtructions from Claudius himſelf to the contrary. Not long after, he married Octavia, and preſented the people with Circenſian games, and a hunting of wild beaſts, for the health of Claudius.

VIII. He was ſeventeen years of age at the death of that prince ; and as ſoon as that event was made public, he went out to the ſoldiers upon the guard before the palace betwixt the hours of ſix and ſeven : for an earlier time of the day was judged improper for his entering upon the imperial dignity, on account of the direful omens that appeared. Upon the ſteps before the palace-gate, he was unaniſouſly ſaluted by the ſoldiers preſent as their emperor, and then carried in a chair into the camp ; thence, after making a ſhort ſpeech to the troops, into the Senate-houſe, where he continued until the evening : of all the immenſe honors which were heaped upon him, reſuſing none but the title of *Father of his Country*, on account of his youth.

IX. He began his reign with an oſtentation of dutiful regard to the memory of his deceased father, whom he buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, pronouncing the funeral oration himſelf, and then had him enrolled amongſt the Gods. He paid likewise the higheſt

honors to the memory of his father Domitius. He left the management of affairs, both public and private, to his mother. The word which he gave the first day of his reign to the Tribune upon the guard, was "the best of mothers," and afterwards, he frequently appeared in the streets of Rome with her in her chair. He settled a colony at Antium, in which he provided for the veteran soldiers belonging to the guards; several of the richest among the most honorable Centurions being obliged to live in that place, where he likewise made a fine harbour at a prodigious expence.

X. To give the public yet farther assurance of his good disposition, he declared, "that he designed to govern according to the model of Augustus;" and omitted no opportunity of showing his generosity, clemency, and complaisance. The more burdensome taxes he either entirely took off, or diminished. The rewards appointed for informers by the Papian law, he reduced to a fourth part; and distributed to the people four hundred sesterces a man. To the noblest of the Senators who were much reduced in their circumstances, he granted pensions, and to some five hundred thousand sesterces; and to the Prætorian battalions a monthly allowance of corn gratis. When the warrant for the execution of a criminal condemned to die was brought him to sign, according to custom "I wish," said he, "I had never learnt to read and write." He now and then saluted the several Orders of the people by name, without a prompter. When the Senate returned him their thanks for his good behaviour, he replied to them, "It will be time enough to do so when I deserve it." He admitted the common people to see him perform his exercises in the Field of Mars. He frequently declaimed in public, and recited verses of his own composing,

posing, not only at home, but in the theatre, so much to the joy of all the people, that public prayers were appointed to be put up to the Gods upon that account ; and the verses which had been publicly read, were, after being written in gold letters, consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

XI. He presented the people with a great number of public diversions, and of various kinds ; as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage-plays, and a show of gladiators. In the Juvenal, he admitted Senators and aged matrons to perform their parts. In the Circensian games, he assigned the Equestrian Order seats apart from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn each by four camels. In the games which he instituted for the eternal continuance of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called *Maximi*, many of the Senatorian and Equestrian Order, of both sexes, acted their parts. A distinguished Roman knight rode down a rope upon an elephant. A Roman play, likewise, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage. It was entitled, “ The Fire ;” and in it the actors were allowed to carry off, and keep to themselves, the furniture of the house, which, as the plot of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre. Every day during the solemnity, various things were thrown amongst the people to scramble for ; as fowls of different kinds, corn, tickets, cloaths, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, wild beasts tamed ; at last, ships, large houses, and lands, were offered as prizes to be contended for.

XII. These games he beheld from the top of the *Proscenium*. In the show of gladiators, which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, built within a year in the wood of the Field of Mars, he ordered that none should
be

be slain, not even of the criminals employed upon that occasion. He engaged four hundred Senators, and six hundred Roman knights, amongst whom were some of great estates, and amiable characters, to engage as gladiators. From the same Orders, he procured persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services* in the theatre. He presented the public with the representation of a naval fight, upon sea-water, with large fishes swimming in it; as also with the Pyrrhic dance, performed by certain youth, to each of whom, after the performance was over, he granted patents for their freedom of Rome. During this diversion, a bull leaped Pasiphaë, concealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed. Icarus, upon his first attempt, fell down close by where he reclined, and bespattered him with his blood. For he very seldom presided in the games, but used to view them lying upon a couch, at first through some little holes, but afterwards with the *Podium** quite open. He was the first that instituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several exercises of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed at Rome every five years, and which he called Neronia. Upon the first opening of a hot-bath, and a school of exercise, which he built, he furnished the Senate and the Equestrian Order with oil. He appointed as judges of the trial men of Consular rank, chosen by lot, who sat with the Prætors.

* The *Podium* was the part of the amphitheatre allotted to the Senators, and the ambassadors of foreign nations; and where also was the seat of the emperor, of the person who exhibited the games, and of the Vestal Virgins. It projected over the wall which surrounded the area of the amphitheatre, and was raised between twelve and fifteen feet above it; secured with a breast-work or parapet against the irruption of wild beasts.

At

At this time he took his seat in the Orchestra amongst the Senators, and received the crown intended for the best performer in Latin prose and verse, for which several persons of the highest quality were candidates, but unanimously yielded to him. The crown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise awarded to him by the judges in that dispute, he adored it, and ordered it to be carried to Augustus's statue. In the gymnastic exercises, which he presented in the Septa, during the preparations for sacrificing an ox, he shaved his beard for the first time, and putting it up in a box adorned with pearls of great price, he consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. He invited the Vestal Virgins to see the wrestlers perform, because, at Olympia, the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion.

XIII. Amongst the spectacles presented by him, the entrance of Tiridates into the city deserves to be mentioned. This personage, who was king of Armenia, he by very large promises invited to Rome. But being prevented from showing him to the people upon the day fixed for it by proclamation, on account of the badness of the weather, he took the first opportunity that occurred; posting several battalions under arms, about the temples of the Forum; and sitting himself upon an ivory seat in the Rostra, in a triumphal dress, amidst the military standards and banners. Upon the king's advancing towards him, on a stage made shelving for the purpose, he permitted Tiridates to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right hand, and kissed him. The emperor then, upon the king's humble supplication, taking the turban from his head, put on a crown, whilst a person of Prætorian rank proclaimed in Latin the words in which the prince addressed the emperor. After this ceremony,

the stranger being brought into the theatre, and there again renewing his address, the emperor seated him upon his right hand. Being now universally complimented with the title of *Imperator*, and sending his laurel-crown into the Capitol, he shut the temple of double-faced Janus, as though there now existed no war throughout the Roman empire.

XIV. He held the Consulship four times: the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four; the two middlemost he held successively, but the rest at the distance of some years from them.

XV. In the administration of justice, he scarcely ever gave an answer to such as preferred their causes to him for trial, before the next day, and in writing. His manner of hearing the causes was not to allow the parties to plead in long harangues, but to dispatch the several particulars in their order, in the way of debate. When he withdrew to consult his assessors in any cause, he did not debate the matter openly with them; but silently and privately reading over their opinions, which they gave separately in writing, he gave sentence upon the bench according to his own pleasure, as if the same was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sons of freedmen into the Senate; and such as had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all public offices in the government. The supernumerary candidates, to comfort them under the delay of their hopes, he put into some command of the legions. The Consulship he commonly gave for six months; and one of the two Consuls dying a little before the first of January, he substituted no other in his room; disliking what had been formerly done for Caninius Rebilus upon such an occasion,

occasion, who was Consul for one day only. He allowed the triumphal honors only to those of Quæstorian dignity, and to some of the Equestrian Order, and that not upon any military account. And instead of the Quæstors, whose office it properly was, he commonly ordered that the speeches, which he sent to the Senate upon certain occasions, should be read by the Consuls.

XVI. He contrived a new model for building in the city, ordering piazzas to be erected before all houses great and small, that from the top of them, if any fire happened, it might be more easily prevented from spreading; and these he built at his own expence. He likewise designed to extend the walls of Rome as far as Ostia, and thence to bring the sea by a canal into the old city. Many severe regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumptuary law was enacted. Public suppers were reduced to the Sportula; and victualling-houses restrained from selling any dressed victuals, except pulse and herbs, whereas before they sold all kinds of meat. The Christians likewise were severely punished, a sort of people who maintained a new and mischievous superstition*. He forbid the sports of the Quadrigarii, who had long taken the liberty of strolling about, and established for themselves a kind of prescriptive right to cheat and commit

* This character of the Christian religion exhibits the prejudice of a Pagan author in strong colors. It is probable that Suetonius considered it as mischievous upon two accounts: one was, that it exploded the superstition of the Gentiles; and the other, that, by declaring God to be no respecter of persons, it tended to slacken all the bands of civil authority, and subordination. But, had he taken the pains to investigate its principles, he would have been undeceived in respect to this apprehension.

theft in jest. The parties of the pantomimics were banished, as well as themselves.

XVII. Against the forgers of writings, the method was then first invented, to have the writings bored, run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise enacted that in wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to those who were to seal them as witnesses; and that no person who wrote a will for another, should put down in it any legacy for himself. It was likewise ordained that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the benches, the charge of which was to be allowed out of the public treasury: that causes, the cognizance of which before belonged to the commissioners of the treasury, should be removed to the Forum, and the *Recuperatores*; and that all appeals should be to the Senate.

XVIII. He never entertained the least ambition or hope of extending and advancing the empire. On the contrary, he had thoughts of withdrawing his troops from Britain, and was only restrained by the fear of being thought to detract from the glory of his father. He only reduced the kingdom of Pontus, which had been ceded to him by Polemon, into the form of a province; as also that of the Alps, upon the death of Cottius.

XIX. He twice formed a design of visiting foreign parts, Alexandria and Achaia; but was prevented in the former upon the very day fixed for his departure, by some ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage. For in going round the temples, happening to sit down in that of Vesta, when he rose up again, the lap of his coat stuck fast;
and

and immediately he was seized with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see before him. In Achaia, he attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus ; and encouraged the guards, in a speech which he made to them, to begin the work. And upon a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations for an expedition to the Caspiæ Portæ ; forming a new legion out of his late levies in Italy, of men all six foot high, which he called the Phalanx of Alexander the Great. These things, in part unexceptionable, and in part highly commendable, I have brought into one view, that they might be separated from his scandalous and criminal behaviour, of which I shall now give an account.

XX. Amongst the other liberal arts which he was taught in his youth, he was instructed in music ; and immediately upon his advancement to the empire, he sent for the harper Terpnus, who flourished at that time in the highest reputation ; and for several days together sat by him as he played after supper, until late at night. At last, he began by degrees to practise upon the instrument himself. Nor did he omit any of those expedients which the artists in music make use of, for the preservation and improvement of their voices. He would lye upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his stomach and bowels by vomits and clysters, and forbear the eating of fruits, or victuals prejudicial to the voice. Encouraged by his proficiency, though his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear, he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently repeating amongst his friends a Greek proverb to this effect : “ that no regard was had for music unheard.” Accordingly he made his first public

lic appearance at Naples; and notwithstanding the theatre was shaken by a sudden shock of an earthquake, he did not desist, until he had finished the piece of music before him. He played and sung in the same place several times, and for several days together; taking only now and then a little respite for the recruiting of his voice. At last, being weary of private practice, he passed from the bath into the theatre; and after a refreshment in the Orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people, he promised them in Greek, "that by the means of a little tippling, he should soon make their ears ring again." Being highly pleased with the songs that were sung in his praise by some Alexandrians belonging to the fleet then arrived, he sent for more of the like songsters from Alexandria. At the same time, he chose young men of the Equestrian Order, and above five thousand robust young fellows out of the commonalty, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause, called *bombi*, *imbrices*, and *testæ*, which they were to practise in his favor, whenever he performed upon the harp. They were divided into several parties for the purpose; all of them remarkable for delicate heads of hair, and very finely dressed, with rings upon their left hands. The leaders of these bands had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them.

XXI. Being extremely desirous of showing his art likewise at Rome, he ordered the games called Neronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. All now became importunate to hear his heavenly voice, and he let them know, "that he would gratify such as desired it in the gardens." But the soldiers then upon guard seconding the voice of the people, he promised to comply with their request immediately, and with all his heart. He instantly ordered his name to be entered upon the list of
musicians,

musicians, that put in, and casting in his lot among the rest, came up in his turn, attended by the commanders of the Prætorian battalions bearing his harp, who were followed by the Tribunes of the soldiers, and several of his intimate friends. After he had taken his station, and made the usual flourish, he commanded Cluvius Rufus to proclaim to the theatre, that he intended to sing the story of Niobe. This he accordingly did, and continued it until ten o'clock, but deferred the disposal of the crown, and the remaining part of the solemnity, until the next year; that he might have more often the opportunity of performing in the same way. But that being too long a time to restrain his inclinations, he could not refrain from frequently exhibiting his art during the interval. He made no scruple to appear upon the stage amongst other performers, even in the games presented to the people by the magistrates, and was offered by one of the Prætors, upon that account, no less than a million of sesterces. He likewise sung tragedies masked; the vizors of the heroes and Gods, as also of the heroines and Goddeses, being formed into a resemblance of his own face, and that of any woman he was in love with. Amongst the rest he sung "Canace in Labour, Orestes the Murderer of his Mother, Œdipus Blinded, and Hercules Mad." In the last tragedy, it is said that a young centinel, posted at the entrance of the theatre, seeing him attired and bound with chains, as the fable of the play required, ran up to his assistance.

XXII. He had from his infancy an extravagant fondness for horses; and was constantly talking of the Circensian races, though he had been forbid to do so. Lamenting once, amongst his schoolfellows, the case of a

driver of the green party, that was dragged round the Circus at the tail of his chariot, and being reprimanded by his master for it, he pretended he was talking of Hector. In the beginning of his reign, he used to play every day with chariots drawn by four horses, made of ivory, upon a table. When there was any exhibition in the Circus, he would come at first privately, but at last openly; so that no body ever doubted of his attendance upon those occasions. Nor did he conceal his desire to have the number of the prizes doubled. The number of races being encreased accordingly, the diversion continued until a late hour; the masters of the several parties refusing now to furnish chariots for any time less than the whole day. Upon this, he took a fancy for driving the chariot himself, and that even publicly. Having made his first essays in the gardens, amidst crowds of slaves and other rabble, he at length performed in the view of all the people, in the *Circus Maximus*, whilst one of his freedmen gave the usual signal, by the tossing up of a napkin in the place where the magistrates are used to do it. Not satisfied with giving various specimens of his dexterity in those arts at Rome, he went over to Achaia, as has been already said, upon the following occasion. The several cities, in which solemn public trials of skill in music used to be performed, had resolved to send him the crowns which were meant to be given to such as bore away the prize. These he accepted so graciously, that he not only gave the deputies who brought them an immediate audience before others that waited for it, but likewise admitted them to his table. Being by some of them requested to sing at supper, and prodigiously applauded upon it, he said, “the Greeks alone had an ear for music, and were alone proper judges of him and his attainments.”

ments." Immediately putting himself upon his journey, after his arrival at Cassiope, he exhibited his first musical performance before the altar of Jupiter Cassius.

XXIII. He afterwards appeared at the celebration of all public games in Greece : for such as fell in different years, he brought within the compass of one, and some he ordered to be celebrated a second time in the same year. At Olympia, likewise, contrary to custom, he appointed a public performance in music : and that he might meet with no interruption in this employment, when he was informed by his freedman Helius, that the affairs of the city required his presence, he wrote to him in these words : " Though you advise and wish for my speedy return, yet you ought rather to advise and wish for my return with a character worthy of Nero." During the time of his musical performance, no body was allowed to stir out of the theatre upon any account however necessary ; insomuch that it is said some women with child were delivered there. Many being quite wearied with hearing and applauding him, because the town gates were shut, slipped privately over the walls ; or counterfeiting themselves dead, were carried out for their funeral. With what extreme anxiety he engaged upon those occasions, with what keen desire to bear away the prize from his adversaries, and with how much awe of the judges appointed in those solemnities, is scarcely to be believed. As if his adversaries had been upon a level with him, he would watch them narrowly, ly at catch, defame them privately, and sometimes, upon meeting them, rail at them in very scurrilous language ; or bribe them too, if they were better artists than himself. He always addressed the judges with the most profound reverence, before he began, telling them, " he had done all things

things that were necessary, by way of preparation, but that the issue of the approaching trial was in the hand of fortune; and that they, as wise and skilful men, ought not to have any regard to things merely accidental." Upon their encouraging him to have a good heart, he went off with more assurance, but not entirely free from anxiety, interpreting the silence and modesty of some of them into sourness and ill-nature, and saying that he was suspicious of them.

XXIV. In those contests, he adhered so strictly to the rules, that he never durst spit, nor wipe the sweat from his forehead any other way than with his arm. Having, in a tragic performance, dropt his staff, but quickly recovered it, he was notwithstanding in a great fright, lest he should be set aside for the miscarriage, and could not recover his assurance, until an actor who stood by swore, he was certain it had not been in the least regarded, amidst the acclamations and exultations of the people. When the prize was adjudged to him, he always proclaimed it himself, and put in amongst the public criers in their contests for superiority. That no memory or the least monument might remain of any of the victors in the sacred Grecian games, he ordered all their statues and images to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the common sewers. He rode the chariot with various sets of horses, and at the Olympic games with no fewer than ten; though, in a poem of his, he had reflected upon Mithridates for that innovation. Being tossed out of the chariot, he was again replaced, yet could not retain his seat, and was obliged to desist, before he came to the end of the race, but was crowned notwithstanding. At his quitting the province, he declared it a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the
freedom

freedom of Rome, with large sums of money. All these favors he proclaimed himself with his own voice, from the middle of the *Stadium*, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games.

XXV. In his return from Greece, arriving at Naples, because he had commenced the public practice of his art in that city, he made his entrance in a chariot drawn by white horses, through a breach in the town-wall, according to the practice of those who were victorious in the sacred Grecian games. In the same manner he entered Antium, Albanum, and Rome. Into the last of these places, he made his entry mounted upon the same chariot in which Augustus had triumphed, in a scarlet toga, and with a cloak embroidered with golden stars, having on his head the crown won at Olympia, and in his right hand that which was given at the Pythian games: the rest being carried in a pompous manner before him, with inscriptions denoting the places where they had been won, from whom, and in what musical performances; whilst a train followed him with loud acclamations, crying out, that "they were the emperor's attendants, and the soldiers of his triumph." Having then caused an arch of the great Circus to be taken down, he passed through the breach, as also through the Velabrum and the Forum, to the palace and the temple of Apollo. Every where as he marched along, victims were slain, whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, ribbands and sweet-meats thrown upon them. He hung the sacred crowns in his chamber about his beds. He caused statues to be erected for him in the attire of a harper, and had the like stamped upon his coin. After this period, he was so far from abating any thing of his application to music, that, for the preservation of his voice, he never addressed himself to
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the foldiers but by meſſages, or with ſome perſon to deliver his ſpeeches for him, when he thought fit to make his appearance amongſt them. Nor did he ever do any thing either in jeſt or earneſt, without a voice-maſter ſtanding by him to caution him againſt over-ſtraining his vocal organs, and to apply a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. He offered his friendſhip, or avowed open enmity to many, according as they were lavish or ſparing in their applauſe of him.

XXVI. Petulancy, lewdneſs, luxury, avarice and cruelty, he practiſed at firſt ſparingly and in private, as if prompted to them only by the folly of youth ; yet ſo that even then the world was of opinion that they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age. After it was dark, he would enter the taverns diſguiſed in a cap or a hat, ramble about the ſtreets in playful excuſions, but not void of miſchief. He uſed to beat ſuch as he met coming home from ſupper ; and, if they made any reſiſtance, would wound them, and plunge them into the common-ſewer. He broke open and robbed ſhops ; appointing an auction at home for the ſelling off his booty. In the ſcuffle upon thoſe occaſions, he often ran the hazard of loſing his eyes, and even his life ; being beaten almoſt to death by a Senator, to whoſe wife he had been rude. After this accident, he never more ventured abroad at that time of night, without ſome Tribunes following him at a little diſtance. In the day-time he would be carried in a chair incognito into the theatre ; placing himſelf upon the upper part of the *Proſcenium*, where he not only beheld the quarrels ariſing upon the account of the pantomimics, but likewise encouraged them. When they came to blows, and ſtones and pieces of broken benches began to fly about, he threw them plentifully amongſt

amongst the people, and once broke with them a Prætor's head.

XXVII. His vices by degrees gaining strength, he laid aside his jocular divertifements, and all disguise; breaking out into enormous crimes, without the least endeavor to conceal them. He would continue his revels from mid-day to mid-night, being frequently refreshed by warm baths, and, in the summer-time, in such as were cooled with snow. He often supped in public, as in the *Nau-machia*, with the sluices shut, or in the Field of Mars, or the great Circus, being waited upon at table by common prostitutes of the town, and those from Syria. As often as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted by the bay of *Baiæ*, booths furnished with all conveniencies for debauchery were erected along the shores and banks; before which stood matrons, who, like kind land-ladies, invited him ashore. He would invite himself to supper with his friends; at one of which was expended no less than four millions of sesterces in coronets, and at another something more in roses.

XXVIII. Besides his abuse of boys free-born, and the liberty he took with married women, he committed a rape upon the Vestal Virgin *Rubria*. He was upon the point of marrying *Acte* his freedwoman, having suborned some men of Consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. He gelded the boy *Sporus*, and endeavored to transform him into a woman. He even went so far as to marry him, with all the usual formality of marriage-writings, the veil, and a numerous company at the wedding. When the ceremony was over, he had him conducted like a bride to his own house, and treated him as his wife. It was jocularly observed by some person,

son, "that it would have been happy for mankind, if his father Domitius had had such a wife." This Sporus he carried about with him in a chair round the solemn assemblies and market-towns of Greece, and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed up in the rich attire of an empress, and now and then kissed him as they rode together. That he was passionately desirous to ly with his mother, but was dissuaded from it by her enemies, for fear that the haughty insolent woman should, by her compliance, get him entirely into her power, and govern in every thing, was universally believed; especially after he had entertained amongst his concubines a strumpet, who was reported to have a strong resemblance of Agrippina.

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XXIX. He prostituted his own chastity to that degree, that, after he had defiled every part about him with some unnatural pollution, he at last invented an extraordinary kind of diversion, which was, to be let out of a den covered over with a wild beast's skin, and to seize upon the private parts both of men and women, tied to a stake for that purpose. After he had sufficiently spent his fury upon them, he was, at his own desire, served in the same manner himself by his freedman Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same way that Sporus had been married to himself; imitating the cries and shrieks of young virgins, when they are deflowered. I have been informed by several, that he firmly believed, that not one man in the world was chaste, or undefiled in any part of him: but that most men concealed that vice, and had the cunning to keep it private. To such, therefore, as

frankly owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgave all other crimes.

XXX. He thought there was no other use of riches and money than to squander them away profusely ; regarding all those as fordid wretches who kept their expences within due bounds ; and extolling those as truly noble and generous souls, who lavished away and wasted all before them. He praised and admired his uncle Caius, upon no account more, than his consuming in a short time the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly, he was himself extravagant and profuse, beyond all measure. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible ; and at his departure, presented him with upwards of a million. He likewise bestowed upon Menecrates the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of men who had had the honor of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Panerotes with estates both in town and country ; and gave him a funeral, in pomp and magnificence little inferior to that of princes. He never wore the same garment twice. He would game for four hundred thousand sesterces for every spot that came up upon the tali. He used to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of the finest scarlet-colour. It is said, that he never travelled with less than a thousand carts attending him with his baggage : the mules being all shod with silver, and their drivers dressed in scarlet-cloaths of the finest wool ; and a numerous train of footmen, and Africans, with bracelets on their arms, and mounted upon horses in splendid trappings.

XXXI. In nothing was he more prodigal than in building. He erected a house that reached from the Palace

lace to the Esquilæ, which he at first called *Transitoria*; but, after it was burnt down and rebuilt, *The Golden House*; concerning the extent and furniture of which, it may be sufficient to say thus much: the porch was so high that there stood in it a monstrous statue of himself a hundred and twenty foot in height; and the extent of it such, that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a pond like a sea, surrounded with buildings that had the appearance of a city. Within the compass of it were corn-fields, vineyards, pastures and woods, with a vast number of animals of various kinds, both wild and tame. It was in all the other parts over-laid with gold, and adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The rooms of entertainment were arched, with vaults of ivory, which turned round, and scattered flowers; and were besides furnished with pipes for the dropping of uguents upon the guests. The chief banqueting-room was circular, and perpetually turning about night and day, in imitation of the motion of the celestial bodies. The baths were provided with water from the sea and Albula. Upon the opening of the house after it was finished, his approbation of it was only in these words, "that he had now begun to have a lodging fit for a man." He began a pond for the reception of all the warm rivulets from Baïæ, which he designed to have carried on from Misenum to the Avernian Lake, under a cover, enclosed within porticos; as also a canal from Avernum to Ostia, for the convenience of passing betwixt those two places by shipping, and yet not by sea, a hundred and sixty miles in length; and of a breadth sufficient to let ships with five banks of oars pass one another. For the execution of these designs, he ordered all prisoners, in every part of the empire, to be brought into Italy; and that such as were convicted of the most heinous crimes, should only be condemned to work at them. He was
encouraged

encouraged to all this wild and enormous profusion, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but by the sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure, viz. that which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought with her into Africa. This, a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good information, was still hid there in some lonely caves, and might with a little labor be recovered.

XXXII. But being disappointed in his expectations of this resource, and reduced to such difficulties for want of money, that he was obliged to suspend the payment of his troops, and the advance of the premiums due to the veterans; he resolved upon supplying his necessities by means of false accusation and rapine. In the first place, he ordered, that if any freedmen, without sufficient reason, bore the name of any family to which he was allied, at their decease, instead of the half, three fourths of their estates should be brought into the exchequer; as also that the estates of such as had not, in their wills, been grateful to their prince, should be all confiscated; and that the lawyers who had drawn or dictated such wills, should be liable to a fine. He ordained likewise, that all words and actions, upon which any informer could ground a prosecution, should be deemed treason. He demanded an equivalent for the crowns which the cities of Greece had at any time offered him in the solemn games in that country. Having forbid the use of the Amethystine and Tyrian scarlet, he privately sent a person to sell a few ounces of it upon the day of the *nundinæ*, and then shut up all the merchants' shops, upon the pretext that his edict had been violated. It is said, that, as he was playing and singing in the theatre, observing a married lady dressed in that kind of scarlet which he had prohibited, he pointed her

out to his procurators; upon which she was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her cloaths, but her estate. He never nominated a person to any office without saying to him, "You know what I want; and let us take care to leave nobody any thing." At last he rifled many temples of the rich offerings which had been deposited in them, and melted down all the gold and silver statues, and amongst them those of the *Penates**, which afterwards Galba restored.

XXXIII. He began the practice of parricide and murder with Claudius himself; of whose death though he was not the contriver, he was privy to the design against him. Nor did he make any secret of it; but used afterwards to commend, by a Grecian proverb, mushrooms as food fit for the Gods, because he had been poisoned with one. He reviled his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner; one while traducing him for his folly, another while for his cruelty. For he used to say by way of jest, that he had given over *morari* amongst men, pronouncing the first syllable long; and repealed many of his decrees and constitutions, as made by a doating old block-

* The *Penates* were worshipped in the innermost part of the house, which was called *Penetrakia*. There were likewise *Publici Penates*, worshipped in the Capitol, and supposed to be the guardians of the city and temples. Some have thought that the *Lares* and *Penates* were the same; and they seem sometimes to be confounded. They were, however, different. The *Penates* were reputed to be of divine origin; the *Lares*, of human. Certain persons were admitted to the worship of the *Lares*, who were not to that of the *Penates*. The latter, as has been already said, were worshipped only in the innermost part of the house, but the former also in the public roads, in the camp, and on sea.

head.

head. He enclosed the place where his body was burnt with only an ordinary low fence. He attempted to poison Britannicus, as much out of envy, because he had a sweeter voice, as from an apprehension of what might ensue, on account of the respect which the people entertained for the memory of his father. The person employed for the purpose was one Locusta, an evidence against some who had been guilty of the practice of that horrible crime. But the poison he had from her, working more slowly than he expected, and only giving him a looseness, he sent for the woman, and beat her with his own hand, charging her with giving him an antidote instead of poison; and upon her alledging in excuse for herself, that she had given him but a gentle mixture, to prevent suspicion, "What!" said he, "I warrant you, I am afraid of the Julian law;" and obliged her to prepare, upon the spot, before his eyes, as quick and strong a dose as possible. This he tried upon a kid; but the creature lingering for five hours before it expired, he ordered her to go to work again; and when she had done, gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he commanded the poison to be brought in, and given to Britannicus, as he was at supper with him. The unfortunate prince had scarcely sooner tasted it than he fell down; the other pretending that it was only a fit of the falling-sickness, to which, he said, he was subject. He buried him the following day, in a mean and hasty manner, during a very heavy fall of rain. He gave Locusta, for her service, a pardon, with a great estate in land, and placed some disciples with her, to be instructed in her trade.

XXXIV. His mother being used to make strict enquiry into what he said or did, and to reprimand him with the freedom of a parent, he was so much offended,

that he endeavored to expose her to the resentment of the public, by frequently pretending a resolution to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes. He soon after deprived her of all honor and power, took from her the guard of Roman and German soldiers, banished her from the palace, and persecuted her in every way he could contrive; employing persons to harass her when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirement from town with the most scurrilous and abusive language. But being terrified with her menaces and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction, and thrice attempted it by poison. Finding however that she had previously secured herself by antidotes, he provided a contrivance to let loose the floor over her bed-chamber, so that it might fall upon her while she was asleep in the night. This design mis-carrying likewise, through the openness of those who were concerned in it, his next stratagem was to contrive a ship which would easily fall in pieces, in hopes of destroying her either by drowning, or by the ceiling of the cabin falling down upon her. Accordingly, under the cover of a pretended reconciliation, he wrote her an extremely affectionate letter, inviting her to Baiæ, to celebrate with him the festival of Minerva. He had given private orders to the captains of the galleys which were to attend her, to shatter her ship to pieces by falling foul of it, but in such a manner as that the whole should appear to be accidental. He prolonged the entertainment, for the more convenient opportunity of executing the plot in the night; and at her return for Bauli, instead of an old ship in which she had come, he offered that which he had contrived for her destruction. He attended her to the vessel in a very cheerful mood, and at parting with her kissed her breasts; after which he sat up very late in the night, waiting with great anxiety to learn the issue of his project. But receiving

ceiving information that every thing had fallen out contrary to his wish, and that she had saved herself by swimming, not knowing what course to take, upon her freedman L. Agerinus bringing word, with great joy, that she was safe and well, he privately dropped a poniard by him. He then commanded the freedman to be seized and put in chains, under pretence of being employed by his mother to assassinate him; at the same time ordering her to be put to death, and giving out, that, to avoid punishment for her intended plot, she had laid violent hands upon herself. With regard to this transaction, other circumstances are related, still more horrible, and upon good authority; as that he went to view her corpse, and handling her limbs, disparaged some and commended others, and growing thirsty during the survey, called for drink. Yet he was never after able to bear the stings of his own conscience for this atrocious act, though encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of the soldiery, Senate, and people; frequently affirming that he was haunted by his mother's ghost, and persecuted with the whips and burning torches of the Furies. Nay, he attempted by a magic sacrifice to bring up her ghost from below, to mollify her rage against him. When he was in Greece, he durst not presume to attend at the celebration of the Eleusinian rites, upon hearing the crier discharge all impious and wicked persons from approaching. To the murder of his mother he joined that of his aunt. For being obliged to keep her bed upon account of a complaint in her bowels, he paid her a visit, and she, now advanced in years, stroaking his downy chin, in the tenderness of affection, expressed herself thus: "May I but live to see the first shaving of this, I shall then be content to die." He turned to those about him, and by way of jest upon it, said, that he would have his beard immediately taken off; and he ordered the phy-

ficians to give her more violent purgatives. He seized upon her estate before she had expired; suppressing her will, that he might enjoy the whole himself.

XXXV. He had, besides Octavia, two other wives: Poppæa Sabina, whose father had borne the office of Quæstor, and who had been married before to a Roman knight: after her, Statilia Messalina, great-grand-daughter to Taurus, who was twice Consul, and had the honor of a triumph. To obtain possession of her, he put to death her husband Atticus Vestinus, at that time Consul. He soon became weary of Octavia's bed, and being censured by his friends for it, he replied, "The marks of distinction belonging to an empress ought to suffice her." Soon after, he attempted several times, but in vain, to strangle her, and then divorced her as being barren. But the people expressing their disapprobation of that measure, and speaking freely upon the occasion, he likewise banished her. At last he put her to death, upon a charge of adultery, so impudent and apparently false, that when all those who were examined by torture concerning it, absolutely denied their knowledge of any such criminality, he suborned his pædagogue Anicetus to affirm, that he had by a fraudulent stratagem prevailed upon her to submit to his lust. He married Poppæa twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and entertained a great affection for her; but nevertheless killed her with a kick which he gave her when she was big with child and indisposed, only because she took the liberty to chide him for coming late home from his exercise of driving the chariot. He had by her a daughter, Claudia Augusta, that died an infant. There was no person connected with him in any degree of consanguinity, who felt not the cruel effects of his violence, to their destruction. He put to death Antonia, Claudius's daughter,

daughter, who refused to marry him after the death of Poppæa, under pretence of her being engaged in a plot against him. In the same way he destroyed all who were allied to him either by blood or marriage; amongst whom was young Aulus Plautinus. He first obliged him to submit to his unnatural lust, and then ordered him to be executed, crying out, "Now let my mother go and kiss my successor;" pretending that he had been his mother's paramour, and by her encouraged to aspire to the empire. His step-son Rufinus Crispinus, Poppæa's son, though a minor, he ordered to be drowned in the sea, while he was fishing, by his own slaves, because he was reported to act frequently amongst his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. He banished Tuscus, his nurse's son, for presuming, when he was procurator of Egypt, to wash in the baths provided against his coming. His master, Seneca, he forced to kill himself, though, upon his desiring leave to withdraw from court, and offering to resign to him his estate, he solemnly swore, "that there was no foundation for his suspicion of him, and that he would perish himself sooner than hurt him." Having promised Burrus the commander of the guards a remedy for a swelling in his throat, he sent him poison. Some old rich freedmen of Claudius', that had formerly not only been the promoters of his adoption by that prince, but instrumental in his advancement to the empire, and were likewise his governors, he took off by poison given them in their meat or drink.

XXXVI. Nor did he proceed with less cruelty against those who were not of his family. A blazing star, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horizon several nights successively. He felt great anxiety on account of this phenomenon,

menon, and being informed by one Babilus an astrologer, that princes used to avoid the danger threatened them by such prodigies, by shedding the blood of illustrious persons, and so divert the fore-boded mischief from themselves to their grantees, he resolved upon the destruction of the principal nobility in Rome. He was the more pleased with this project, because he had some plausible pretence for carrying it into execution, from the discovery of two conspiracies against him; the former and more dangerous of which was that formed by Piso, and discovered at Rome; the other was that of Vinicius at Beneventum. The conspirators were brought to their trials loaded with triple irons. Some ingenuously confessed the charge; others avowed that they thought the design against his life an act of favor for which he was obliged to them, as it was impossible in any other way than by death to relieve a person rendered infamous by crimes of the greatest enormity. The children of such as were condemned, were banished the city, and afterwards either poisoned or starved to death. It is certain that some, with their pædagogues, and slaves who carried their books, were all poisoned together at one dinner; and others not suffered to seek their daily bread.

XXXVII. From this period he butchered without distinction or quarter, all whom his caprice suggested as objects for his cruelty, and upon the most frivolous pretences. To mention only a few. Salvidienus Orfitus was accused of letting out three shops belonging to his house in the Forum to some cities for the use of their deputies at Rome. The charge against Cassius Longinus, a blind lawyer, was that he kept amongst the busts of his ancestors, that of C. Cassius who was concerned in the death of Julius Cæsar. The only charge objected against Pætus Thrasea

was

was that he had a cloudy countenance, like that of a pædagogus. He allowed no more than one hour to those whom he obliged to kill themselves; and to prevent delay, he sent them physicians “to cure them immediately, if they lingered beyond that time;” for so he called bleeding them to death. There was at that time an Egyptian of a most voracious appetite, who would digest raw flesh, or any thing else that was given him. It is credibly reported, that the emperor was extremely desirous of furnishing him with living men to tear and devour. Being elated with his success in the perpetration of crimes, he declared upon it, “that no prince before himself ever knew the extent of his power.” He gave strong intimations that he would not spare the Senators that remained; but would quite extirpate that Order, and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman knights, and his freedmen. It is certain that he never would, either upon his coming to town, or leaving it, vouchsafe any one of them the civility of a kiss, or the return of a salutation. And in entering upon his project of making a cut through the Isthmus, he with a loud voice, amidst a great concourse of people, wished that “the business might prove fortunate for himself and the Roman people,” without taking the smallest notice of the Senate.

XXXVIII. He spared, however, neither the people, nor the city itself. Somebody in conversation saying,

Εμὲ θανόντος γαῖα μὲνθῆτω πυρ.

When I am dead, let fire devour the world.

“Nay,” said he, “let it be whilst I am living.” And he acted accordingly: for pretending to take offence at the ugliness of the old buildings, with the narrowness and winding

winding of the streets, he set the city on fire so openly, that many men of Consular rank caught those of his bed-chamber with tow, and torches for lighting, in their houses, but durst not meddle with them. There being near his Golden House some granaries, the ground-plot of which he was extremely desirous to come at, they were battered with rams, because the walls were all of stone, and then set on fire, with the view of spreading the flames. During six days and seven nights this terrible devastation continued, the people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and shelter. Upon this occasion, a prodigious number of stately buildings, the houses of generals celebrated in former times, and even then still beautified with the spoils of war, were all laid in ashes; as also the temples of the Gods, which had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the wars with the Carthaginians and Gauls; in short every thing of antiquity that was remarkable and worthy to be seen. This fire he beheld from a tower in the top of Mæcenas's house, and "being prodigiously diverted," as he said, "with the beauty of the flame," he sung the ditty of the destruction of Troy, in the dress used by him upon the stage. To make his advantage of this calamity, in the way of plunder and rapine, he promised to bring off the bodies of such as had perished in the fire, and remove the rubbish at his own expence; suffering no person to come at the remains of their houses or goods. Yet he not only received, but demanded contributions upon the account, until he had exhausted both the provinces and private persons.

XXXIX. These terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the public by their prince, were attended with some from fortune likewise; as a plague, by which, within the
space

space of one autumn, there died no less than thirty thousand persons, as appeared from the registers of the temple of Libitina; a great disaster in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging to the Romans were plundered, and a dreadful havoc made both amongst our troops and allies; a shameful discomfiture of our army in the East, viz. Armenia; where our legions were obliged to pass under the yoke: and it was with great difficulty that we kept Syria. Amidst all these incidents, it was strange, and indeed particularly remarkable, that he bore nothing more patiently than scurrilous language and railing; and treated none with more gentleness, than such as traduced him by abusive reflections and lampoons. Many things of that kind were posted up in the town, or otherwise spread amongst the people, both in Greek and Latin: such as these,

Νέρων, Ορεσῆς, Αλκμαίων, μητροκτονοί.
 Νεονυμφον Νερων ἰδίαν μητὲρ' ἀπεκτείνειν.

Nero, Orestes, and Alcmaeon, slew
 Their mothers; Nero worst of all the crew.

Quis neget Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?
 Sustulit hic matrem: sustulit ille patrem.

That Nero from the great Æneas springs,
 Their filial merit proof sufficient brings.
 One bore through flames his aged fire: t'other,
 Lest she should survive, took off his mother.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
 Noster erit Pæan, ille ἑκατηβέλετης

His sounding lyre whilst ours harmonious strings,
 His arrows whilst the dext'rous Parthian flings;
 Ours Pæan call, the other fam'd in war,
 Be he surnam'd "the God that shoots from far."

Roma domus fiet ; Vejos migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Vejos occupat ista domus.

Rome will be all one house : to Veii fly,
If that house move not thither by and by.

But he neither made any enquiry after the authors, nor against some, concerning whom information was given to the Senate, would he allow a severe sentence to pass. Isidorus, the Cynic philosopher, said to him aloud, as he was passing along the streets, " You sing the misfortunes of Nauplius well, but behave badly yourself." And Datus, an actor of farces, in repeating these words of a song, " Health attend you, father, Health attend you, mother," represented by his gestures one drinking and swimming, alluding to the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina. At uttering the last clause,

Orcus vobis ducit pedes ;

You stand this moment on the brink of Orcus ;

he plainly intimated his application of it to the Senate. Yet Nero only banished the player and philosopher from the city and Italy ; either from a contempt of infamy, or an apprehension, that if he discovered great uneasiness, he should only more excite the wits of the time to exert their ingenuity against him.

XL. The world, after tolerating such an emperor little less than fourteen years, at last forsook him : and first the Gauls, headed by Julius Vindex, who at that time governed the province as Pro-Prætor. Nero had been formerly told by astrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at last forsaken by all the world ; and this occasioned that famous saying of his, " An artist may live in any country ;" designed

designed to insinuate some sort of an excuse for his practice of the musical art, since it was entertaining to him now he was a prince, and would be necessary for him when reduced to a private station. Yet some of the astrologers promised him, after his forlorn condition, the government of the East, and some expressly the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the greater part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to his former fortune. And being most inclined to believe the latter prediction, upon losing Britain and Armenia, he imagined he had run through all the misfortunes which the fates had decreed him. But when, upon consulting Apollo at Delphi, he was advised to beware of the seventy-third year, as if he was then to die, and never thinking of Galba's age, he conceived such hopes, not only of living to old age, but of constant and uncommon good fortune, that having lost some things of great value by shipwreck, he scrupled not to say amongst his friends, that "the fishes would bring him them again." At Naples he heard of the insurrection in Gaul, upon the very day on which he killed his mother, and bore it with so much unconcern, as to excite a suspicion that he was really glad of it, since he had now a fair opportunity of plundering those wealthy provinces by the right of war. Immediately entering the Gymnasium, he beheld the exercise of the wrestlers with great pleasure. Being interrupted at supper with letters which brought yet worse news, he expressed no greater resentment, than only to threaten the rebels. For eight days together, he neither attempted to answer any letters, nor give any orders, but buried the whole in profound silence.

XLI. At last being roused by the many abusive declarations of Vindex, he in a letter to the Senate entreated them to stand by him and the public; desiring them to
excuse

excuse his not appearing in the house, because he had got cold. But nothing so much galled him, as to find himself railed at for a pitiful harper, and, instead of Nero, styled *Ænobarbus*: which name being that of his family, since he was upbraided with it, he declared he would resume, and lay aside the name he had taken by adoption. In his endeavor to discredit the other charges with which he was reproached, he insisted upon no argument, but that of his being upbraided with want of skill in an art upon which he had bestowed so great application, and in which he had arrived at such perfection; asking frequently those about him, “if they knew any one that excelled him in that way.” But being alarmed with messengers after messengers of ill news from Gaul, he returned in great consternation to Rome. A little comforted, however, upon the road, by observing the frivolous omen of a Gallic soldier defeated by a Roman knight, and dragged along by the hair, carved upon a monument, he leaped for joy, at the sight of it, and adored the heavens. Even then he made no personal application either to the Senate or people, but calling together some of the principal persons in the city to his own house, he held with them a short hasty conversation upon the present state of his affairs, and then, during the remaining part of the day, carried them about with him to view some musical instruments, of a new invention, which were played by water; shewing them every thing about them, and discoursing upon the reason and difficulty of the contrivance; all which, he told them, he intended to produce in the theatre, if *Vindex* would give him leave.

XLII. Soon after he received advice that *Galba* and *Spain* had declared against him; upon which, falling down in a violent agony of mind, he lay a long time
speechless,

speechless, and apparently dead. As soon as he recovered from the state of stupefaction, he tore his cloaths, and beat his head, crying out, "I am ruined!" His nurse endeavoring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied, "I am beyond all example miserable, who have lost an empire whilst I am living." He nevertheless abated nothing of his usual luxury and inattention to business. Nay, upon the arrival of some good news from the provinces, he, at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of wantonness, some jocular verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made public; and accompanied them with suitable gestures. Being privately brought into the theatre, he sent word to an actor who pleased the company, "that he made too free with the emperor's employment."

XLIII. At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed that he had formed many projects, of a nature the most bloody, but conformable enough to his disposition: to issue new commissions for the government of the provinces, and command of the armies: to send assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as men all unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him: to massacre all the exiles, and all the Gauls in Rome; the former lest they should join the revolters; the latter as privy to the designs of their countrymen, and favorers of them: to deliver up Gaul to be wasted and plundered by his armies: to poison the whole Senate at a feast: to fire the city, and then let loose the wild beasts upon the people, to divert them from stopping the progress of the flames. But being deterred from the execution of these designs, not so much by remorse of conscience, as despair of being able to effect them; and judging an expedition
into

into Gaul necessary, he removed the Consuls from their office, before the time of its expiration was arrived; and in their room bore the Consulship himself alone; as if the fates had decreed that Gaul should not be conquered, but by a Consul. Upon assuming the Fasces, after an entertainment in the palace, he walked out of the room, leaning upon some of his friends, and declared, that as soon as he arrived in the province, he would make his appearance amongst the troops, unarmed, and do nothing but weep: and that, after he had thus brought the rebels to repentance, he would, the next day, at the public rejoicing upon the occasion, sing songs of triumph; which ought immediately to be composed for that purpose.

XLIV. In preparing for this expedition, his first care was to provide carriages for his musical instruments to be used upon the stage; to dress in the attire of men the concubines that he carried with him; and to furnish them with battle-axes, and Amazonian targets. He summoned the city-tribes to enlist; but no person of any account appearing, he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, and the best they had, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded all the several Orders of the people to bring in a certain proportion of their estates, as they stood in the Censor's books: all tenants of houses, great or small, to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer; and with a niceness and strictness beyond all example, would receive only new coin of the choicest silver and the finest gold; insomuch that most people openly refused to pay, crying out unanimously that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to surrender their premiums.

XLV. The public hatred of him was encreased by the
great

great scarcity of corn, and an accident which happened in consequence. For, just at that time, there arrived from Alexandria a ship, which was said to be freighted with dust for the wrestlers about court. This so much inflamed the public rage, that he was treated with the utmost abuse and scurrility. Upon the top of a statue of him, was placed a chariot with a Greek inscription, that “Now he had a race to run indeed; now he ought to betake himself away.” A budget was tied about another, and an inscription in these words; “What could I do? but thou hast deserved a sack*.” Some person likewise wrote upon the pillars in the Forum, “that he had wakened the cocks with his fingering.” And many, in the night-time, pretending to quarrel with their servants, frequently called for a *Vindex*.

XLVI. He was besides terrified with manifest presages, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices, and omens. He had never been used to dream before the murder of his mother. After that event, he fancied in his sleep that he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him: that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigious dark place; and was one while covered over with a vast swarm of winged ants, and another, surrounded by the gentilitious imagery displayed near Pompey’s theatre, and hindered from advancing farther: that a Spanish gennet he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape; and

* This alludes to the punishment due to him on account of his parricide. By the Roman law, a person who had murdered a parent or any near relation, after being severely scourged, was sewed up in a sack, with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and then thrown into the sea, or a deep river.

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having

having his head only left unaltered, neighed very harmoniously. The doors of the mausoleum flying open of themselves, there issued from it a voice, calling upon him by his name. The Lares being trimmed up with fresh garlands upon the first of January, fell down during the preparations for a sacrifice to them. While he was taking omens, Sporus presented him with a ring, the stone of which had carved upon it the Rape of Proserpine. When a great multitude of the several Orders was assembled, to attend at the solemnity of making vows to the Gods, it was a long time before the keys of the Capitol could be found. And when, in a speech of his to the Senate against Vindex, these words were read, “ that the villains should be punished, and in a short time meet with a death suitable to their deserts,” they all cried out upon it, “ You will effect it, Augustus.” It was likewise remarked, that the last tragic piece which he sung, was *Œdipus in Exile*, and that he fell as he was repeating this verse :

Θανεῖν μ' ἀνωγε συγγαμος, μητηρ, πατηρ.

Wife, mother, father, force me to my end.

XLVII. Meanwhile, upon the arrival of the news, that the rest of the armies had declared against him, he tore to pieces the letters which were delivered to him at dinner, overthrew the table, and dashed with violence against the ground two favorite cups, which he called Homer's, because some of that poet's verses were cut upon them. Then taking from Locusta a dose of poison, which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servilian gardens, and thence dispatching a trusty freedman to Ostia, with orders to make ready a fleet, he endeavored to prevail with some Tribunes and Centurions of the guards to attend him in his flight : but some of them
showing

showing no great inclination to comply, others absolutely refusing, and one of them crying out aloud,

Usque adeone mori miserum est ?

Say, is it then so sad a thing to die ?

he was in great perplexity whether he should submit himself to Galba, or apply to the Parthians for protection, or else appear in public dressed in mourning, and upon the Rostra, in the most piteous manner, beg pardon for his past misdemeanors, and, if he could not prevail, to request of them to grant him at least the government of Egypt. A speech to this purpose was afterwards found in his escrutoire. But it is conjectured that he durst not venture upon this project, for fear of being torn to pieces, before he could get to the Forum. Suspending therefore his resolution until the next day, he awaked about midnight, and finding the guards withdrawn, he leaped out of bed, and sent about for his friends. But receiving no answer from any of them, he went with a few attendants to their houses. The doors being every where shut, and none of them giving him any answer, he returned to his bed-chamber; whence now those that had the charge of it were all eloped; some having gone one way, and some another, carrying off with them his bedding and box of poison. He then endeavored to find Spicillus the gladiator, or any other person, to kill him; but not being able to find any body, "What!" said he, "have I then neither friend nor foe?" and immediately ran out, as if he would throw himself into the Tiber.

XLVIII. But this furious impulse subsiding, he wished for some place of privacy, where he might recollect his thoughts; and his freedman Phaon offering him a country-house of his, betwixt the Salarian and Nomentan

roads, about four miles from the city, barefoot as he was, and in his tunic, only flipping over it an old weather-beaten cloak, with his head muffled up in it, and his handkerchief before his face, he mounted a horse, with four persons only to attend him, amongst whom Sporus was one. Being immediately much frightened with an earthquake, and a flash of lightning darting full in his face, he heard from the contiguous camp the shouts of the foldiers, wishing his destruction, and prosperity to Galba. He likewise heard a traveller they met with upon the road, say, "These are in pursuit of Nero:" and another ask, "Is there any news in town about Nero?" Uncovering his face, upon occasion of his horse's boggling at a carcase that lay in the road, he was known, and saluted, by an old soldier who had been discharged out of the guards. When they came to the lane which turned up to the house, they quitted their horses, and with much difficulty he got through shrubs and bushes, and a track through a piece of ground covered with reeds, over which they spread their coats, for him to tread upon. Having reached a wall at the back of the villa, Phaon advised him to hide himself awhile in a sand-pit, when he replied, "I shall not go under-ground alive." Staying there some little time, until a private passage into the villa could be made for him, he took up some water out of an adjoining ditch in his hand, to drink, saying, "This is Nero's boiled water." Then his cloak having been torn by the thorns, he pulled out the pricks that stuck in it. At last being taken in, creeping upon his hands and knees, through a hole that was made for him, he lay down in the first room he came at, upon a poor bed, with an old coverlet thrown over it; and being both hungry and thirsty, he refused some coarse bread that was brought him, but drank a little warm water.

XLIX. Every body about him now pressing him to save himself from the indignities which were ready to befall him, he ordered a grave to be made before his eyes, suitable to the size of his body, and the bottom to be covered with pieces of marble put together, if any could be found about the house, and water and wood likewise to be provided for his funeral; weeping at every thing that was done, and frequently saying, "What an artist is now to perish!" In the mean time letters were brought in by a servant belonging to Phæon. He snatched them out of his hand, and there found, "That he had been declared an enemy by the Senate, and was fought for, that he might be punished according to the ancient practice amongst the Romans." Upon this, he asked, what kind of punishment that was; and being told, that the way was to strip the criminal naked, and lash him to death, with his neck fastened within a forked stick, he was so terrified that he took up two daggers which he had brought with him, and after feeling the points of both, put them up again, saying, "The fatal hour is not yet come." One while he begged of Sporus to begin a wailing lamentation; another while he entreated that some of them would set him an example to kill himself; sometimes again he condemned his own want of resolution in these words: "I live basely and shamefully: this does not become Nero: this does not become thee. Thou oughtest in such circumstances to have thy wits about thee. Come: courage, man!" The horsemen who had been ordered to bring him away alive to town, were now approaching the house. As soon as he perceived it, uttering with a trembling voice the following verse,

Ἴππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κλυτὸς καὶα βαλλει.

The noise of swift-heel'd steeds assails my ears.

he ran a dagger into his throat, being assisted in the act by Epaphroditus, his master of requests. A Centurion breaking in when he was now half dead, and clapping his cloak to the wound, pretending that he was come to his assistance, he made no other reply but this, " 'Tis too late. Is this your loyalty?" Immediately after pronouncing these words, he died, with his eyes standing out of his head, to the terror of all that beheld him. He had requested of his attendants, as the most essential favor, that they would let nobody have his head, but that his body might be burnt entire by all means. And this Iulus the freedman of Galba granted, who had but a little before been discharged from the confinement he had been put under at the commencement of the troubles.

L. The expences of his funeral amounted to two hundred thousand sesterces ; the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt, being overlaid with a white coverlet, interwoven with gold ; which he had made use of upon the Calends of January preceding. His nurses Ecloge and Alexandra, with his concubine Acte, deposited his relics in the monument belonging to the family of the Domitii, which stands upon the top of the hill over-looking the gardens, and is to be seen from the Field of Mars. In that monument, a coffin, with an altar of porphyretic marble of Luna over it, is enclosed within a wall of Thasian stone.

LI. His stature was a little below the common size ; his body spotted, and of a disagreeable appearance ; his hair inclined to yellow ; his countenance fair, rather than handsome ; his eyes grey and dull, his neck fat, his belly prominent, legs very slender, but his constitution healthful. For, though extravagantly luxurious in his way
of

of living, he had, in the course of fourteen years, only three fits of sickness, which were so slight, that he neither forbore the use of wine, nor made any alteration in his usual diet. In his dress, and the care of his person, he was so indecent, that he had his hair cut in rings one above another ; and when he was in Achaia, let it grow long behind ; and appeared abroad for the most part in the dress which he used at table, with a handkerchief about his neck, his coat loose upon him, and without shoes.

LII. He was entered, when a boy, in almost all the liberal sciences ; but his mother diverted him from the study of philosophy, as unsuitable to one who was to be an emperor ; and his master Seneca discouraged him from reading the old orators, that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himself. He was much addicted to poetry, and composed verses both with pleasure and ease : nor did he, as some think, publish those of other authors for his own. I have had in my hands some little pocket-books of his, with some well-known verses, all of his own writing, and written in such a manner, that it was very evident from the blotting and interlining, that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but written by the composer of them.

LIII. He had likewise a great taste for painting, and moulding of images, but of all things an extravagant desire of popular applause, being a rival of every man who was upon any account admired by the people. It was the general belief, that, after the prizes he won by his performances upon the stage, he would the next lustrum have entered amongst the wrestlers at the Olympic games. For he was continually practising in that way : nor did

he attend in Greece that kind of solemnity any otherwise, than as the judges used to do, sitting upon the ground in the Stadium. And if a pair of wrestlers happened to get without the limits assigned them, he would with his own hands bring them back into their proper place. Because he was thought to equal Apollo in music, and the Sun in chariot-driving, he resolved to imitate the actions of Hercules likewise. And they say a lion was prepared for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in the view of the people in the amphitheatre ; which he was to perform naked.

LIV. Towards the end of his life, he made a public vow, that if he continued in the peaceable enjoyment of the empire, he would, in the games which he intended to give for his success against the insurgents, appear upon the stage, to manage the water-organ, as also to play upon the flutes and bag-pipe, and upon the day concluding those diversions, would act his part in a play, and dance to the story of Turnus in Virgil. And there are some who say, that he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival.

LV. He had an invincible desire, but capriciously directed, of rendering himself famous through all succeeding ages. He therefore took from several things and places their former appellations, and gave them new names derived from his own. He called the month of April, too, Neroneus, and had a design to change the name of Rome into that of Neropolis.

+ LVI. He was a despiser of all religious worship, except that of the Syrian Goddesses ; but at last he regarded her so little, that he p——d upon her ; being now engaged

gaged in another superstition, in which he invariably persisted. For having received from some obscure plebeian a little image of a girl, as a preservative against plots, and discovering a conspiracy immediately after, he constantly worshipped, and with three sacrifices a day, his imaginary protectress, as the greatest amongst the Gods. He was likewise desirous to have it thought, that he had from the information of that deity a knowledge of future events. A few months before he died, he offered several sacrifices, to consult the entrails of the victims ; but could never obtain any favorable intimations from them.

LVII. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, upon the same day on which he had formerly put Octavia to death ; and the public joy was so great upon the occasion, that the common people ran up and down with caps upon their heads. There were however some, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. They likewise one while placed his image upon the Rostra, dressed up in state robes ; another while published proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance to all his enemies. Vologesus, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the Senate, to renew the alliance betwixt that nation and the Romans, earnestly requested that due honor should be paid to the memory of Nero: and to conclude, when twenty years after, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, he met with so favorable a reception from the Parthians, that he was very powerfully supported by that nation, and it was with much difficulty that they surrendered him.

THOUGH

THOUGH no law had ever passed, for regulating the transmission of the imperial power, yet the design of conveying it by lineal descent was implied in the practice of adoption. By the rule of hereditary succession, Britannicus, the son of Claudius, was the natural heir to the throne; but he was supplanted by the artifices of his step-mother, who had the address to procure it for her own son Nero. From the time of Augustus it had been the custom of each of the new sovereigns to commence his reign in such a manner as tended to acquire popularity, however much they all afterwards degenerated from those specious beginnings. Whether this proceeded entirely from policy, or that nature was not yet vitiated by the intoxication of uncontrolled power, is uncertain; but such were the excesses into which they afterwards plunged, that we scarcely can exempt any of them, except perhaps Claudius, from the imputation of great original depravity. The vicious temper of Tiberius was known to his own mother Livia; that of Caligula had been obvious to those about him from his infancy; Claudius seems to have had naturally a stronger disposition to weakness than to vice; but the inherent wickedness of Nero was discovered at an early period by his preceptor Seneca. Yet even this emperor commenced his reign in a manner which procured him approbation. Of all the Roman emperors who had hitherto reigned, he seems to have been most corrupted by profligate favorites, who flattered his follies and vices, to promote their own aggrandisement. In the number of these was Tigellinus, who met at last with the fate which he had so amply merited.

The several reigns from the death of Augustus present us with uncommon scenes of cruelty and horror; but it was reserved for that of Nero, to exhibit to the world the
atrocious

atrocious act of an emperor deliberately procuring the death of his mother.

Julia Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, and married Domitius, Ænobarbus, by whom she had Nero. At the death of Messalina she was a widow ; and Claudius, her uncle, entertaining a design of entering again into the married state, she aspired to an incestuous alliance with him, in competition with Lollia Paulina, a woman of beauty and intrigue, who had been married to C. Cæsar. The two rivals were strongly supported by their respective parties ; but Agrippina, by her superior interest with the emperor's favorites, and the familiarity to which her near relation gave her a claim, obtained the preference ; and the portentous nuptials of the emperor and his niece were publicly solemnised in the palace. Whether she was prompted to this flagrant indecency by personal ambition alone, or by the desire of procuring the succession to the empire for her son, is uncertain ; but there remains no doubt of her having removed Claudius by poison, with a view to the object now mentioned. Besides Claudius, she projected the death of L. Silanus, and she accomplished that of his brother Junius Silanus, by means likewise of poison. She appears to have been richly endowed with the gifts of nature, but in her disposition intriguing, violent, imperious, and ready to sacrifice every principle of virtue, in the pursuit of supreme power or sensual gratification. As she resembled Livia in the ambition of a mother, and the means by which she indulged it, so she more than equalled her in the ingratitude of an unnatural son and a parricide. She is said to have left behind her some memoirs, of which Tacitus availed himself in the composition of his Annals.

In this reign, the conquest of the Britons still continued,

to be the principal object of military pursuit, and Suetonius Paulinus was invested with the command of the Roman army employed in the reduction of that people. The island of Mona, now Anglesey, being the chief seat of the Druids, he resolved to commence his operations with attacking a place which was the centre of superstition, and to which the vanquished Britons retreated as the last asylum of liberty. The inhabitants endeavored, both by force of arms and the terrors of religion, to obstruct his landing on this sacred island. The women and Druids assembled promiscuously with the soldiers upon the shore ; where running about, in wild disorder, with flaming torches in their hands, and pouring forth the most hideous exclamations, they struck the Romans with consternation. But Suetonius animating his troops, they boldly attacked the inhabitants, routed them in the field, and burned the Druids in the same fires which had been prepared by those priests for the catastrophe of the invaders ; destroying at the same time all the consecrated groves and altars in the island. Suetonius having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, flattered himself with the hopes of soon effecting the reduction of the people. But they, encouraged by his absence, had all taken arms ; and under the conduct of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman Tribunes, had already driven the haughty invaders from their several settlements. Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, which was by this time a flourishing Roman colony ; but he found upon his arrival, that any attempt to preserve it would be attended with the utmost danger to the army. London therefore was reduced to ashes ; and the Romans, and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were put to the sword without distinction ; the Britons seeming determined to con-
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vince the enemy, that they would acquiesce in no other terms than a total evacuation of the island. This massacre, however, was revenged by Suetonius in a decisive engagement, where eighty thousand of the Britons are said to have been killed; after which, Boadicea, to avoid falling into the hands of the insolent conquerors, put a period to her own life, by means of poison. It being judged unadvisable that Suetonius should any longer conduct the war against a people whom he had exasperated by his severity, he was recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed in his room. The command was afterwards given successively to Trebellius Maximus, and Vettius Bolanus: but the plan pursued by these generals was only to retain, by a conciliatory administration, the parts of the island which had already submitted to the Roman arms.

During these transactions in Britain, Nero himself was exhibiting, in Rome or some of the provinces, such scenes of extravagance as almost exceed credibility. In one place, entering the lists, amongst the competitors in a chariot race; in another, contending for victory with the common musicians on the stage; revelling in open day in the company of the most abandoned prostitutes and the vilest of men; in the night committing depredations on the peaceful inhabitants of the capital; polluting with detestable lust, or drenching with human blood, the streets, the palace, and the habitations of private families; and, to crown his enormities, setting fire to Rome, while he sung with delight in beholding the dreadful conflagration. In vain would history be ransacked for a parallel to this emperor, who united the most shameful vices to the most extravagant vanity, the most abject meanness to the strongest but most preposterous ambition; and the whole of whose life was

one continued scene of lewdness, sensuality, rapine, cruelty, and folly. It is emphatically observed by Tacitus, "that Nero, after the murder of many illustrious personages, manifested a desire of extirpating virtue itself."

Among the excesses of Nero's reign are to be mentioned the horrible cruelties exercised against the Christians, in various parts of the empire; in which inhuman transactions, the natural barbarity of the emperor was inflamed by the prejudices and interested policy of the Pagan priesthood.

The tyrant scrupled not to charge them with the act of burning Rome; and he satiated his furious disposition towards them by such outrages as are unexampled in history. They were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn by dogs; were crucified, and set on fire, that they might serve for lights in the night-time. Nero offered his gardens for this spectacle, and exhibited the games of the Circus by this dreadful illumination. Sometimes they were covered with wax and other combustible materials, after which a sharp stake was put under their chin, to make them stand upright, and they were burnt alive, to give light to the spectators.

In the person of Nero, it is observed by Suetonius, the race of the Cæsars became extinct; a race rendered illustrious by the first and second emperors, but which their successors no less disgraced. The despotism of Julius Cæsar, though haughty and imperious, was liberal and humane: that of Augustus, if we exclude a few instances of vindictive severity towards individuals, was mild and conciliating; but the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero (for we except Claudius from part of the censure),
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while discriminated from each other by some peculiar circumstances, exhibited the most flagrant acts of licentiousness and perverted authority. The most abominable lust, the most extravagant luxury, the most shameful rapaciousness, and the most inhuman cruelty, constitute the general characteristics of those capricious and detestable tyrants. Repeated experience now clearly refuted the opinion of Augustus, that he had introduced amongst the Romans the best form of government: but while we make this observation, it is proper to remark, that, had he even restored the Republic, there is reason to believe, that the nation would again have been soon distracted with internal divisions, and a perpetual succession of civil wars. The manners of the people were become too dissolute to be restrained by the authority of elective and temporary magistrates; and the Romans were hastening to that fatal period when general and great corruption, with its attendant debility, would render them an easy prey to any foreign invaders.

But the odious government of the emperors was not the only grievance under which the people labored in those disastrous times: Patrician avarice concurred with imperial rapacity to encrease the sufferings of the nation. The Senators, even during the Commonwealth, had become openly corrupt in the dispensation of public justice; and under the government of the emperors, this pernicious abuse was practised in yet greater extent. That class being now equally with other Roman citizens dependent on the sovereign power, their sentiments of duty and honor were degraded by the loss of their former dignity; and being likewise deprived of the lucrative governments of provinces, to which they had annually succeeded by an elective rotation in the times of the Republic, they en-

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deavored to compensate the reduction of their emoluments by an unbounded venality in the judicial decisions of the Forum. Every source of national happiness and prosperity was by this means destroyed. The possession of property became precarious; industry, in all its branches, was effectually discouraged, and the *amor patriæ*, which had formerly been the animating principle of the nation, was almost universally extinguished.

It is a circumstance corresponding to the general singularity of the present reign, that, of the few writers who flourished in it, and whose works have been transmitted to posterity, two ended their days by the order of the emperor, and the third, from indignation at his conduct. These unfortunate victims were Seneca, Petronius Arbiter, and Lucan.

Seneca was born about six years before the Christian æra, and gave early indication of uncommon talents.

*L. Annæus
Seneca.*

His father, who had come from Corduba to Rome, was a man of letters, particularly fond of declamation, in which he instructed his son, and placed him, for the acquisition of philosophy, under the most celebrated Stoics of that age. Young Seneca, imbibing the precepts of the Pythagorean doctrine, religiously abstained from eating the flesh of animals; until Tiberius having threatened to punish some Jews and Egyptians, who abstained from certain meats, he was persuaded by his father to renounce the Pythagorean practice. Seneca displayed the talents of an eloquent speaker; but dreading the jealousy of Caligula, who aspired to the same excellence, he thought proper to abandon that pursuit, and apply himself towards suing for the honors and offices of the state. He accordingly obtained

obtained the place of Quæstor ; in which office incurring the imputation of a scandalous amour with Julia Livilla, he removed from Rome, and was banished by the emperor Claudius into Corsica.

Upon the marriage of Claudius with Agrippina, Seneca was recalled from his exile, in which he had remained near eight years, and was appointed to superintend the education of Nero, now destined as successor to the throne. In the character of preceptor he appears to have acquitted himself with ability and applause ; though he has been charged by his enemies with having initiated his pupil in those detestable vices which disgraced the reign of Nero. Could he have indeed been guilty of such immoral conduct, it is probable that he would not so easily have forfeited the favor of that emperor ; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that his disapprobation of Nero's conduct was the real cause of that odium which soon after proved fatal to him. By the enemies whom distinguished merit and virtue never fail to excite at a profligate court, Seneca was accused of having maintained a criminal correspondence with Agrippina in the life-time of Claudius ; but the chief author of this calumny was Sullius, who had been banished from Rome at the instance of Seneca. He was likewise charged with having amassed exorbitant riches, with having built magnificent houses, and formed beautiful gardens, during four years in which he had acted as preceptor to Nero. This charge he considered as a prelude to his destruction ; which to avoid, if possible, he requested of the emperor to accept of the riches and possessions which he had acquired in his situation at court, and to permit him to withdraw himself into a life of studious retirement. Nero, dissembling his secret intentions, refused this request ;

quest; and Seneca, that he might obviate all cause of suspicion or offence, kept himself at home for some time, under the pretext of indisposition.

Upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of Piso, in which some of the principal Senators were concerned, Natalis, the discoverer of the plot, mentioned Seneca's name, as an accessary. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that Seneca had any knowledge of the plot. Piso, according to the declaration of Natalis, had complained that he never saw Seneca; and the latter had observed, in answer, that it was not conducive to their common interest, to see each other often. Seneca likewise pleaded indisposition, and said that his own life depended upon the safety of Piso's person. Nero, however, glad of such an occasion of sacrificing the philosopher to his secret jealousy, sent him an order to destroy himself. When the messenger arrived with this mandate, Seneca was sitting at table, with his wife Paulina and two of his friends. He heard the message not only with philosophical firmness, but even with symptoms of joy, and observed, that such an order might long have been expected from a man who had assassinated all his friends, and even murdered his own mother. The only request which he made, was, that he might be permitted to dispose of his possessions as he pleased; but this was refused him. Immediately turning himself to his friends, who were weeping at his melancholy fate, he said to them, that, since he could not leave them what he considered as his own property, he should leave at least his own life for an example; an innocence of conduct which they might imitate, and by which they might acquire immortal fame. He remonstrated with composure against their unavailing tears and lamentations, and asked them, whether they

had not learnt better to sustain the shocks of fortune, and the violence of tyranny?

The emotions of his wife he endeavored to allay with philosophical consolation; and when she expressed a resolution to die with him, he said, that he was glad to find his example imitated with so much fortitude. The veins of both were opened at the same time; but Nero's command extending only to Seneca, the life of Paulina was preserved; and, according to some authors, she was not displeased at being prevented from carrying her precipitate resolution into effect. Seneca's veins bleeding but slowly, an opportunity was offered him of displaying in his last moments a philosophical magnanimity similar to that of Socrates; and it appears that his conversation during this solemn period was maintained with dignified composure. To accelerate his lingering fate, he drank a dose of poison; but this producing no effect, he ordered his attendants to carry him into a warm bath, for the purpose of rendering the hæmorrhage from his veins more copious. This expedient proving likewise ineffectual, and the soldiers who witnessed the execution of the emperor's order being clamorous for its accomplishment, he was removed into a stove, and suffocated by the steam. He underwent his fate on the twelfth of April, in the sixty-fifth year of the Christian æra, and the fifty-third year of his age. His body was burnt, and his ashes deposited in a private manner, according to his will, which had been made during the period when he was in the highest degree of favor with Nero.

The writings of Seneca are numerous, and on various subjects. His first composition, addressed to Novatus, is on Anger, and continued through three books. After

giving a lively description of this passion, the author discusses a variety of questions concerning it: he argues strongly against its utility, in contradiction to the Peripatetics, and exhorts to the restraining of it, by many just and excellent considerations. This treatise may be regarded, in its general outlines, as a philosophical amplification of the passage in Horace :

*Ira furor brevis est : animum rege ; qui, nisi paret,
Imperat : hunc frænis, hunc tu compeſce catenâ.*

EPIST. I. 2.

The next treatise is on Consolation, addressed to his mother Helvia, and was written in his exile. He there informs his mother that he bears his banishment with fortitude, and advises her to do the same. He observes, that, in respect of himself, change of place, poverty, ignominy and contempt, are not real evils ; that there may be two reasons for her anxiety on his account ; first that, by his absence, she is deprived of his protection ; and in the next place, of the satisfaction arising from his company ; on both which heads he suggests a variety of pertinent observations. Prefixed to this treatise, are some epigrams written on the banishment of Seneca, but whether or not by himself, is uncertain.

Immediately subsequent to the preceding, is another treatise on Consolation, addressed to one of Claudius's freedmen, named Polybius, from his great application to study. In this tract, which is in several parts mutilated, the author endeavors to console Polybius for the loss of a brother who had lately died. The sentiments and admonitions are well suggested for the purpose ; but they are intermixed with such fulsome encomiums on the imperial domestic, as degrade the dignity of the author, and can be ascribed to no other motive than that of endeavoring

ing to procure a recall from his exile, through the interest of Polybius.

A fourth treatise on Consolation is addressed to Marcia, a respectable and opulent lady, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, by whose death she was deeply affected. The author, besides many consolatory arguments, proposes for her imitation a number of examples, by attending to which she may be enabled to overcome a passion that is founded only in too great sensibility of mind. The subject is ingeniously prosecuted, not without the occasional mixture of some delicate flattery, suitable to the character of the correspondent.

These consolatory addresses are followed by a treatise on Providence, which evinces the author to have entertained the most just and philosophical sentiments on that subject. He infers the necessary existence of a Providence from the regularity and constancy observed in the government of the universe: but his chief object is to show, why, upon the principle that a Providence exists, good men should be liable to evils. The enquiry is conducted with a variety of just observations, and great force of argument; by which the author vindicates the goodness and wisdom of the Almighty, in a strain of sentiment corresponding to the most approved suggestions of natural religion.

The next treatise, which is on Tranquillity of Mind, appears to have been written soon after his return from exile. There is a confusion in the arrangement of this tract; but it contains a variety of just observations, and, in point of utility, may be regarded as a valuable production.

Then follows a discourse on the Constancy of a Wise Man. This has by some been considered as a part of the preceding treatise; but they are evidently distinct. It is one of the author's best productions, in regard both of sentiment and composition, and affords a fund of moral observations, to fortify the mind under the pressure of accidental calamities.

We next meet with a tract on Clemency, in two books, addressed to Nero. This appears to have been written in the beginning of Nero's reign, on whom the author bestows some high encomiums, which, at that time, seem not to have been destitute of foundation. The discourse abounds with just observation, applicable to all ranks of men; and, if properly attended to by that infatuated emperor, might have prevented him from the perpetration of those acts of cruelty, which, with his other extravagancies, have rendered his name odious to posterity.

The discourse which succeeds is on the Shortness of Life, addressed to Paulinus. In this excellent treatise the author endeavors to show, that the complaint of the shortness of life is not founded in truth: that it is men who make life short, either by passing it in indolence, or otherwise improperly. He inveighs against indolence, luxury, and every unprofitable avocation; observing that the best use of time is, to apply it to the study of wisdom, by which life may be rendered sufficiently long.

Next follows a discourse on a Happy Life, addressed to Gallio. Seneca seems to have intended this as a vindication of himself, against those who calumniated him on account of his riches and manner of living. He maintains that a life can only be rendered happy by its conformity

mity to the dictates of virtue, but that such a life is perfectly compatible with the possession of riches, where they happen to accrue. The author pleads his own cause with great ability, as well as justness of argument. His vindication is in many parts highly beautiful, and accompanied with admirable sentiments respecting the moral obligations to a virtuous life. The conclusion of this discourse bears no similarity, in point of composition, to the preceding parts, and is evidently spurious.

The preceding discourse is followed by one upon the Retirement of a Wise Man. The beginning of this tract is wanting: but in the sequel the author discusses a question which was much agitated amongst the Stoics and Epicureans, viz. whether a wise man ought to concern himself with the affairs of the public. Both these sects of philosophers maintained that a life of retirement was most suitable to a wise man, but they differed with respect to the circumstances in which it might be proper to deviate from this conduct; one party considering the deviation as prudent, when there existed a just motive for such conduct, and the other, when there was no forcible reason against it. Seneca regards both these opinions as founded upon principles inadequate to the advancement both of public and private happiness, which ought ever to be the ultimate object of moral speculation.

The last of the author's discourses, addressed to Æbucius, is on Benefits, and continued through seven books. He begins with lamenting the frequency of ingratitude amongst mankind, a vice which he severely censures. After some preliminary considerations respecting the nature of Benefits, he proceeds to show in what manner, and on whom, they ought to be conferred. The greater

part of these books is employed on the solution of abstract questions relative to Benefits, in the manner of Chrysippus ; where the author states explicitly the arguments on both sides, and from the full consideration of them, deduces rational conclusions.

The Epistles of Seneca consist of one hundred and twenty-four, all on moral subjects. His Natural Questions extend through seven books ; in which he has collected the hypotheses of Aristotle and other ancient writers. These are followed by a whimsical effusion on the death of Caligula. The remainder of his works comprises seven Persuasive Discourses, five books of Controversies, and ten books containing Extracts of Declamations.

From the multiplicity of Seneca's productions, it is evident, notwithstanding the luxurious life he is said to have led, that he was greatly devoted to literature ; a propensity which, it is probable, was confirmed by his banishment during almost eight years in the island of Corsica, where he was in a great degree secluded from every other resource of amusement to a cultivated mind. But with whatever splendor Seneca's domestic economy may have been supported, it seems highly improbable that he indulged himself in luxurious enjoyment to any vicious excess. His situation at the Roman court being honorable and important, could not fail of being likewise advantageous, not only from the imperial profusion common at that time, but from many contingent emoluments which his extensive interest and patronage would naturally afford him. He was born of a respectable rank, was in habits of familiar intercourse with persons of the first distinction : and if, in the course of his attendance upon Nero, he had acquired a large fortune, no blame could

could justly attach to his conduct, in maintaining an elegant hospitality. The imputation of luxury was thrown upon him from two quarters, viz. by the dissolute companions of Nero, to whom the mention of such an example served as an apology for their own extreme dissipation; and by those who envied him for the affluence and dignity which he had acquired. The charge, however, is supported only by vague assertion, and is discredited by every consideration which ought to have weight in determining the reality of human characters. It seems totally inconsistent with his habits of literary industry, with the virtuous sentiments which he every where strenuously maintains, and the esteem with which he was regarded by a numerous acquaintance, as a philosopher and a moralist.

The writings of Seneca have been traduced almost equally with his manner of living, though in both he has a claim to indulgence, from the fashion of the times. He is more studious of minute embellishments in style than the writers of the Augustan age; and the didactic strain, in which he mostly prosecutes his subjects, has a tendency to render him sententious: but the expression of his thoughts is neither enfeebled by decoration, nor involved in obscurity by conciseness.. He is not more rich in artificial ornament than in moral admonition. Seneca has been charged with depreciating former writers, to render himself more conspicuous; a charge which, so far as appears from his writings, is founded rather in negative than positive testimony. He has not endeavored to establish his fame by any affectation of singularity in doctrine; and while he passes over in silence the names of illustrious authors, he avails himself with judgement of the most valuable stores with which they had enriched philosophy.

On the whole, he is an author whose principles may be adopted not only with safety, but great advantage; and his writings merit a degree of consideration, superior to what they have hitherto ever enjoyed in the literary world.

Seneca, besides his prose works, was the author of some tragedies. The *Medea*, the *Troas*, and the *Hippolytus*, are ascribed to him. His father is said to have written the *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Œtaeus*. The three remaining tragedies, the *Thebais*, *Œdipus*, and *Octavia*, usually published in the same collection with the seven preceding, are supposed to be the productions of other authors, but of whom, is uncertain. These several pieces are written in a neat style; the plots and characters are conducted with an attention to probability and nature; but none of them is so forcible, in point of tragical distress, as to excite in the reader any great degree of emotion.

Petronius was a Roman knight, and apparently of considerable fortune. In his youth he seems to have given great application to polite literature; in which he acquired a justness of taste, as well as an elegance of composition. Early initiated in the gaieties of fashionable life, he contracted a habit of voluptuousness, which rendered him an accommodating companion to the dissipated and the luxurious. The court of Claudius, entirely governed for some time by Messalina, was then the residence of pleasure; and here Petronius failed not of making a conspicuous appearance. More delicate, however, than sensual, he rather joined in the dissipation, than indulged in the vices of the palace. To interrupt a course of life too uniform to afford him perpetual satisfaction, he accepted

T. Petronius
Arbiter.

of the Proconsulship of Bithynia, and went to that province, where he discharged the duties of his office with great applause. Upon his return to Rome, Nero, who had succeeded Claudius, made him Consul, in recompense of his services. This new dignity, by giving him frequent and easy access to the emperor, created an intimacy between them, which was increased to friendship and esteem on the side of Nero, by the elegant entertainments often given him by Petronius. In a short time, this gay voluptuary became so much a favorite at court, that nothing was agreeable but what was approved by Petronius; and the authority which he acquired, by being umpire in whatever related to the economy of gay dissipation, procured him the title of *Arbiter*, as one who was sovereign judge. Things continued in this state whilst the emperor kept within the bounds of moderation; and Petronius acted as Intendant of his pleasures; ordering him shows, games, comedies, music, feasts, and all that could contribute to make the hours of relaxation pass agreeably: seasoning, at the same time, the innocent delights which he procured for the emperor, with every possible charm, to prevent him from seeking after such as might prove pernicious both to morals and the Republic. Nero, however, giving way to his own disposition, which was naturally vicious, at length changed his conduct, not only in regard to the government of the empire, but of himself; and listening to other counsels than those of Petronius, gave the entire reins to his passions, which afterwards plunged him in ruin. The emperor's new favorite was Tigellinus, a man of the most profligate morals, who omitted nothing that could gratify the inordinate appetites of his prince, at the expence of all decency and virtue. During this period, Petronius gave vent to his indignation, in the satire transmitted under his name by the title of *Satyricon*. But his total retirement from court secured him not from the artifices

tifices of Tigellinus, who labored with all his power to destroy the man whom he had industriously supplanted in the emperor's favor. With this view he insinuated to Nero, that Petronius was too intimately connected with Scevius not to be engaged in Piso's conspiracy; and, to support his calumny, caused the emperor to be present at the examination of one of Petronius's slaves, whom he had secretly suborned to swear against his master. After this transaction, to deprive Petronius of all means of justifying himself, they threw into prison the greater part of his domestics. Nero embraced with joy the opportunity of removing a man, to whom he knew the present manners of the court were utterly obnoxious, and he soon after issued orders for arresting Petronius. As it required, however, some time to deliberate, whether they should put a person of his consideration to death, without more evident proofs of the charges preferred against him, he felt such disgust at living in the power of so detestable and capricious a tyrant, that he resolved to die. For this purpose, making choice of the same expedient which had been adopted by Seneca, he caused his veins to be opened: but he closed them again, for a little time, that he might enjoy the conversation of his friends, who came to see him in his last moments. He desired them, it is said, to entertain him, not with discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the consolations of philosophy, but with agreeable tales, and poetic galantries. Disdaining to imitate the fervility of those, who, dying by the orders of Nero, yet made him their heir, and stuffed their testaments with encomiums on the tyrant and his favorite, he broke to pieces a goblet of precious stones, out of which he had commonly drank, that Nero, who he knew would seize upon it after his death, might not have the pleasure of using it. As the only present suitable to such a prince, he sent him, under a sealed cover, his *Satyricon*, written purposely

posely against him; and then broke his signet, that it might not, after his death, become the means of accusation against the person in whose custody it should be found.

The *Satyricon* of Petronius is one of the most curious productions in the Latin language. Novel in its nature, and without any parallel in the works of antiquity, some have imagined it to be a spurious composition fabricated about the time of the revival of learning in Europe. This conjecture, however, is not more destitute of support, than repugnant to the most circumstantial evidence in favor of its authenticity. Others, admitting the work to be a production of the age of Nero, have questioned the design with which it was written, and have consequently imputed to the author a most immoral intention. Some of the scenes, incidents, and characters, are of so extraordinary a nature, that the description of them, without a particular application, must have been regarded as extremely whimsical, and the work, notwithstanding its ingenuity, been doomed to perpetual oblivion: but history justifies the belief, that in the court of Nero, the extravagancies mentioned by Petronius were realised to a degree which authenticates the representation given of them. The inimitable character of Trimalchio, which exhibits a person sunk in the most debauched effeminacy, was drawn for Nero; and we are assured, that there were formerly medals of that emperor, with these words, *C. Nero August. Imp.* and on the reverse, *Trimalchio*. The various characters are well discriminated, and supported with admirable propriety. Never was such licentiousness of description united to such delicacy of coloring. The force of the satire consists not in poignancy of sentiment, but in the ridicule which arises from the whimsical, but characteristic

characteristic and faithful exhibition of the objects introduced. That Nero was struck with the justness of the representation, is evident from the displeasure which he showed, at finding Petronius so well acquainted with his infamous excesses. After levelling his suspicion at all who could possibly betray him, he at last fixed on a Senator's wife, named Silia, who bore a part in his revels, and was an intimate friend of Petronius: upon which she was immediately sent into banishment. Amongst the miscellaneous materials in this work, are some pieces of poetry, written in an elegant taste. A poem on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, is beautiful and animated.

Though the Muses appear to have been mostly in a quiescent state from the time of Augustus, we find from Petronius Arbitrator, who exhibits the manners of the capital during the reign of Nero, that poetry still continued to be a favorite pursuit amongst the Romans, and to which, indeed, they seem to have had a national propensity.

*Ecce inter pocula quærunť
Romulidæ saturi, quid dĩa pœmata narrent.*

PERSIUS, SAT. I.

It was cultivated as a kind of fashionable exercise, in short and desultory attempts, in which the chief ambition was to produce verses extempore. They were publicly recited by their authors with great ostentation, and a favorable verdict from an audience, however partial, and frequently obtained either by intrigue or bribery, was construed by those frivolous pretenders into a real adjudication of poetical fame.

The custom of publicly reciting poetical compositions,
with

with the view of obtaining the opinion of the hearers concerning them, and for which purpose Augustus had built the Temple of Apollo, was well calculated for the improvement of taste and judgement, as well as the excitement of emulation; but, conducted as it now was, it led to a general degradation of poetry. Barbarisms in language, and a corruption of taste, were the natural consequences of this practice, while the judgement of the multitude was either blind or venal, and while public approbation sanctioned the crudities of hasty composition. There arose, however, in this period, some candidates for the bays, who carried their efforts beyond the narrow limits which custom and inadequate genius prescribed to the poetical exertions of their contemporaries. Amongst these were Lucan and Persius.

Lucan was the son of Annæus Mela, the brother of Seneca, the philosopher. He was born at Corduba, the original residence of the family, but came early to Rome, where his promising talents, and the patronage of his uncle, recommended him to the favor of Nero; by whom he was raised to the dignity of an Augur and Quæstor before he had attained the usual age. Prompted by the desire of displaying his poetical abilities, he had the imprudence to engage in a competition with his imperial patron. The subject chosen by Nero was the tragical fate of Niobe; and that of Lucan was Orpheus. The ease with which the latter obtained the victory in the contest, excited the jealousy of the emperor, who resolved upon depressing his rising genius. With this view, he exposed him daily to the mortification of fresh insults, until at last the poet's resentment was so much provoked, that he entered into the conspiracy of Piso for cutting off the tyrant.

*M. Annæus
Lucanus.*

The

The plot being discovered, there remained for the unfortunate Lucan no hope of pardon : and choosing the same mode of death which was employed by his uncle, he had his veins opened, while he sat in a warm bath, and expired in pronouncing with great emphasis the following lines in his *Pharfalia* :

*Scinditur avulsus : nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emituit lentus : ruptis cadit undique venis ;
Discursusque animæ diversa in membra meatibus
Interceptus aquis, nullius vita perempti
Est tantâ dimissa viâ.*

LIB. III.

Some authors have said that he betrayed pusillanimity at the hour of death ; and that, to save himself from punishment, he accused his mother of being involved in the conspiracy. This circumstance, however, is not mentioned by other writers, who relate, on the contrary, that he died with philosophical fortitude. He was then only in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

Lucan had scarcely reached the age of puberty when he wrote a poem on the contest between Hector and Achilles. He also composed in his youth a poem on the burning of Rome ; but his only surviving work is the *Pharfalia*, written on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. This poem, consisting of ten books, is unfinished, and its character has been more depreciated than that of any other production of antiquity. In the plan of the poem, the author prosecutes the different events in the civil war, beginning his narrative at the passage of the Rubicon by Cæsar. He invokes not the Muses, nor engages any Gods in the dispute ; but endeavors to support an epic dignity by vigor of sentiment, and splendor of description. The horrors of civil war, and the im-
portance

portance of a contest which was to determine the fate of Rome and the empire of the world, are displayed with variety of coloring, and great energy of expression. In the description of scenes, and the recital of heroic actions, the author discovers a strong and lively imagination; while, in those parts of the work which are addressed either to the understanding or the passions, he is bold, figurative, and animated. Indulging too much in amplification, he is apt to tire with prolixity; but in all his excursions he is ardent, elevated, impressive, and often brilliant. His versification has not the smoothness which we admire in the compositions of Virgil, and his language is often involved in the intricacies of technical construction: but with all his defects, his beauties are numerous; and he discovers a greater degree of merit than is commonly found in the productions of a poet of twenty-six years of age, at which time he died.

Perfius was born at Volaterræ, of an Equestrian family, about the beginning of the Christian æra. His father dying when he was six years old, he was left to the care of his mother, for whom and for his sisters, he expresses the warmest affection. At the age of twelve he came to Rome, where, after attending a course of grammar and rhetoric under the respective masters of those parts of education, he placed himself under the tuition of Annæus Cornutus, a celebrated Stoic philosopher of that time. There subsisted between him and this preceptor so great a friendship, that at his death, which happened in the twenty-ninth year of his age, he bequeathed to Cornutus a handsome sum of money, and his library. The latter, however, accepting only of the books, left the money to Perfius's sisters.

*Aulus Perfius
Flaccus,*

Priscian, Quintilian, and other ancient writers, speak of Persius's Satires as consisting of a book, without any division. They have since, however, been generally divided into six different satires, but by some only into five. The subjects of these compositions are, the vanity of the poets in his time; the backwardness of youth to the cultivation of moral science; ignorance and temerity in political administration, chiefly in allusion to the government of Nero: the fifth Satire is employed in evincing, that the wise man alone is free; in discussing which point, the author adopts the observations used by Horace on the same subject. The last Satire of Persius is directed against avarice. In the fifth, we meet with a beautiful address to Cornutus, whom the author celebrates for his amiable virtues, and peculiar talents for teaching. The following lines, at the same time that they show how diligently the preceptor and his pupil were employed through the whole day in the cultivation of moral science, afford a more agreeable picture of domestic comfort and philosophical conviviality, than might be expected in the family of a rigid Stoic.

*Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles,
Et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes.
Unum opus, & requiem pariter disponimusambo:
Atque verecundâ laxamus seria mensâ.*

The Satires of Persius are written in a free, expostulatory, and argumentative manner; possessing the same justness of sentiment with those of Horace, but exerted in the way of derision, and not with the admirable railery of that facetious author. They are regarded by many as obscure; but this imputation arises more from unacquaintance with the characters and manners to which the author alludes, than from any peculiarity either in
his

his language or composition. His versification is harmonious ; and we have only to remark, in addition to similar examples in other Latin writers, that, though Persius is acknowledged to have been both virtuous and modest, there are in the fourth Satire a few passages which cannot decently admit of being translated. Such was the freedom of the Romans, in the use of some expressions, which just refinement has now exploded.

Another poet, in this period, was Fabricius Veiento, who wrote a severe satire against the priests of his time ; as also one against the Senators, for corruption in their judicial capacity. Nothing remains of either of those productions ; but, for the latter, the author was banished by Nero. There now likewise flourished a lyric poet, Cæsius Bassus, to whom Persius has addressed his sixth Satire. He is said to have been, next to Horace, the best lyric poet among the Romans : but of his various compositions, only a few inconsiderable fragments are preserved. To the two poets now mentioned must be added Pomponius Secundus, a man of distinguished rank in the army, and who obtained the honor of a triumph for a victory over a nation of barbarians in Germany. He wrote several tragedies, which, in the judgment of Quintilian, were beautiful compositions.

SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

I. THE race of the Cæsars became extinct in Nero ; an event intimated before by various signs, two of which are particularly remarkable for their positive indication. Formerly as Livia, after her marriage with Augustus, was going to a country-seat which she had near Veii, an eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as he had seized her. Livia gave orders to have the hen taken care of, and the laurel sprig set ; and there came from her such a numerous brood of chickens, that the villa to this day goes by the name of *the Villa at the Hens*. The laurel spread so considerably, that the Cæsars, in their triumphs, procured thence their laurel crowns. It was a custom constantly observed, to plant others in the place upon that occasion ; and a remark was made, that, a little before the death of each prince, the tree which had been set by him died. But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of laurels perished to the very roots, and the hens all died. About the same time, the temple of the Cæsars being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues in it fell off at once ; and Augustus's sceptre was dashed out of his hands.

II. Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the remotest degree allied to the family of the Cæsars, but without doubt of very noble extraction, being descended
of

of a great and ancient family, as who always used to put amongst his other titles upon the bases of his statues, his being great-grandson to Q. Catulus Capitolinus. And when he came to be emperor, he set up the images of his ancestors in the atrium* of the palace; according to the titles of which he carried up his pedigree on the father's side to Jupiter; and by the mother's to Pasiphaë, Minos's queen.

III. To give even a short account of the whole family, would be tedious. I shall therefore only slightly notice that branch of it from which he was descended. For what reason, or whence the first of the Sulpicii that had the cognomen of Galba, was so called, is uncertain. Some are of opinion, that it was because he set fire to a city in Spain, after he had a long time attacked it to no purpose, with torches dipped in the juice of the Syrian cane called Galbanum: others said he was so named, because, in a tedious indisposition, he made use of a remedy wrapped up in the wool called Galbeum: others, because he was a very fat man, such a one being called in the Gallic tongue Galba; or finally, on account of his being of the opposite habit of body, very slender, like those insects which breed in a sort of oak, and are called Galbæ. Ser-

* The *Atrium*, or *Aula*, was the court or hall of a house, the entrance to which was by the principal door. It appears to have been a large oblong square, surrounded with covered or arched galleries. Three sides of the *Atrium* were supported by pillars, in later times, of marble. The side opposite to the gate was called *Tablinum*; and the other two sides, *Alæ*. The *Tablinum* contained books, and the records of what any one had done in his magistracy. In the *Atrium* the nuptial couch was erected; and here the mistress of the family, with her maid-servants, wrought at spinning and weaving, which, in the time of the ancient Romans, was their principal employment.

gius Galba, a man of Consular rank, and the most eloquent of his time, gave a lustre to the family. History relates, that, when he was Pro-Prætor of Spain, he perfidiously put to the sword thirty thousand Lusitanians, and by that means gave occasion to the war of Viriatus. His grandson being incensed against Julius Cæsar, whose lieutenant he had been in Gaul, because he was through him disappointed of the Consulship, joined with Cassius and Brutus in the conspiracy against him, for which he was condemned by the Pedian law. From him were descended the grandfather and father of the emperor Galba. The grandfather was more celebrated for his application to study, than for any figure he made in the government. For he rose no higher than the Prætorship, but published a large and not uninteresting history. His father attained to the Consulship: he was a short man and hump-backed, but a tolerable orator, and an industrious pleader. He was twice married: the first of his wives was Mummia Achaica, daughter of Catulus, and great-grand-daughter of L. Mummius, who destroyed Corinth; and the other, Livia Ocellina, a very rich and beautiful woman, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent. They say, that she was farther stimulated to take him for her husband, by an incident which evinced a great ingenuoufness in his disposition. Upon her pressing him in private with a proposal of marriage, he stripped off his Toga, and shewed her the deformity of his person, that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder of these, Caius, having very much reduced his estate, retired from town, and being prohibited by Tiberius from standing a candidate for the Consulship in his year, put an end to his own life.

IV. The emperor Sergius Galba was born in the Consulship of M. Valerius Messala, and Cn. Lentulus, upon the ninth of the Calends of January, in a country-house upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left side of the road to Fundi. Being adopted by his step-mother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and a new prænomen; for he afterwards made use of Lucius, instead of Sergius, until he arrived at the imperial dignity. It is well known, that when he came once, amongst other boys of his own age, to pay his respects to Augustus, the latter, stroaking his cheek, said to him, "And thou, child, too, wilt taste of our imperial dignity." Tiberius likewise being told that he would come to be emperor, but in an advanced age, said upon it, "Let him live then, since that concerns me nothing." When his grandfather was offering sacrifice to avert some ill omen from lightning, the entrails of the victim were snatched out of his hand by an eagle, and carried off into an oak-tree loaded with acorns. Upon this the soothsayers said, that the family would come to be masters of the empire, but not until many years had elapsed: at which he smiling said, "Ay, when a mule has a foal." When Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much confidence of success, as a mule's happening at that time to have a foal. And whilst all others expressed their abhorrence of it as a most inauspicious prodigy, he alone regarded it as a very happy omen, calling to mind the sacrifice and saying of his grandfather. When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamt that the Goddess Fortune said to him, "I stand before your door quite tired; and unless I am admitted forthwith, I shall be a prey to the first comer." Upon his awaking, opening the door of his house, he found a brazen statue of the goddess, above a cubit long, close by the threshold, and carried it with him to Tusculum,

where he used to pass the summer season ; where having consecrated it in an apartment of his house, he ever after worshipped it by monthly supplications, and an anniversary vigil. Though but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now no where observed, except in his own family, which was, to have his freedmen and slaves appear in a body before him twice a day, morning and evening, to pay their respects to him.

V. Amongst other liberal studies, he applied himself to the law. He married Lepida, by whom he had two sons ; but the mother and children all dying, he continued a widower ; nor could he be prevailed upon to marry again, not even Agrippina herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius ; who had endeavored by every artifice to draw him to her embraces, whilst he was a married man ; insomuch that his mother Lepida, in the presence of several married women, scolded her for it, and even proceeded to beat her. He paid most of all his court to Livia Augusta, by whose favor, whilst she was living, he made a considerable figure, and had like to have been enriched by the will which she left at her death ; in which she distinguished him from the rest of the legatees, by a legacy of fifty millions of sesterces. But because the sum was expressed in figures, and not in words at length, it was reduced by her heir Tiberius, to five hundred thousand ; and even this he never received*.

* Suetonius seems to have forgotten, that, according to his own testimony, this legacy, as well as those left by Tiberius, was paid by Caligula. “ *Legata ex testamento Tiberii, quamquam abolito, sed et Juliæ Augustæ, quod Tiberius superasset, cum fide, ac sine calumniâ representata persolvit.*”

VITA CALIG. C. xvi.

VI. Being

VI. Being advanced to public posts in the government, before the age required for it by law, in his Prætorship, at the celebration of games in honor of the goddess Flora, he entertained with a new sight of elephants walking upon ropes. He then governed the province of Aquitain for near a year, and soon after had an ordinary Consulship, which he held six months. It so happened that he succeeded L. Domitius, the father of Nero, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, father to the emperor of that name; which looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire, betwixt the sons of these two men. Being appointed by C. Cæsar to succeed Gætulicus, the day after his arrival at the army, he put a stop to their clapping of hands in a solemn public diversion, by giving out this sentence for the watch-word, "That they should keep their hands within their cloaks." Immediately upon which, the following verse became very common in the camp.

Disce, miles, militare : Galba est, non Gætulicus.

Soldiers, learn the use of arms : 'tis Galba, not Gætulicus.

With equal strictness, he would allow of no petitions for leave to be absent from the camp. He hardened the soldiers, both old and young, with constant exercise; and having quickly reduced within their proper bounds the barbarians, who had made inroads into Gaul, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that, amongst the innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with higher commendation, or greater rewards from him. He likewise distinguished himself by appearing at the head of a military procession, with a shield in his hand, and then running by the emperor's chariot twenty miles together.

VII. Upon

VII. Upon the news of Caius's death, though many earnestly pressed him to lay hold of that opportunity of seizing the empire, he chose rather to be quiet. On this account, he was in great favor with Claudius, and being received into the number of his friends, stood so high in his good opinion, that the British expedition was for some time suspended, upon the occasion of his being suddenly seized with some slight indisposition. He governed Africa in the quality of Pro-Consul for two years; being chosen out of course to settle the state of that province, which was in great disorder from civil dissensions, and the alarms of the barbarians. He displayed upon this occasion the utmost strictness and justice even in matters of small consideration. A soldier upon some expedition being charged with selling, in a great scarcity of corn, a modius of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denarii, he forbid him to be relieved by any body, when he came to be in want himself; and accordingly he died of famine. In the administration of justice, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, the property of which was claimed by two persons, the proof being on both sides trifling, and the truth uncertain, he ordered the beast to be led, with his head muffled up, to a pond at which he had used to be watered, the covering to be there removed from his head, and that he should be the property of the person, to whose house, after drinking, he should return.

VIII. For the achievements performed by him, both at that time in Africa, and formerly in Germany, he received the triumphal ornaments, and three priest's offices, one amongst the fifteen, another amongst the *Sodales Titii*, and a third amongst the *Augustales*; and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part retired. He never went abroad so much as to take the
air,

air, without a chariot attending him, in which there was a million of sesterces in gold, until at last Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him, at that time living in the town of Fundi. After his arrival in the province, whilst he was at sacrifice in a temple, a boy who attended with a censer, became all on a sudden grey-headed. This incident was regarded by some as a token of an approaching revolution in the government, and that an old man would succeed a young one : that is, that he would succeed Nero. And not long after, a thunderbolt falling into the lake of Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it ; a manifest sign of the supreme power.

IX. He governed the province during eight years, with great variety and unsteadiness of conduct ; being at first brisk, and indeed excessively severe in the punishment of delinquents. For a banker having committed some fraud in the way of his business, he cut off his hands, and nailed them to his table. Another who had poisoned an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and next heir to the estate, he crucified. When this delinquent implored the protection of the law, and cried out that he was a Roman citizen, as if he intended to comfort him under his affliction, and alleviate his punishment, by a mark of honor conferred upon him, he ordered him a new cross, higher than usual, and whitened. By degrees he gave himself up to a life of indolence and inactivity, from the fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, “ No body was obliged to be accountable for want of business.” Whilst he was holding the assizes at New Carthage, he received advice of the insurrection in Gaul ; upon which account the lieutenant of Aquitain solicited his assistance ; but letters were soon after brought him from Vindex, requesting of him “ to assert the rights of mankind, and put himself at their head to relieve them
from

from the tyranny of Nero." Without demurring long upon the subject, he complied with the invitation, from a mixture of fear and hope. For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the province to get him dispatched; and he was encouraged to the enterprize, as well by several auspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young woman of good quality; and the more so, because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, by intimation given him in a dream, had discovered in the inner part of the temple the very same verses with those in which she had delivered her prophecy; which had likewise been uttered by another young woman, inspired about two hundred years before. The import of the verses was, "That in time, Spain should give the world a lord and master."

X. Mounting the bench therefore, under pretence of sitting for the manumising of slaves, having set up before him the statues of several who had been condemned and put to death by Nero, whilst a noble youth stood by, who had been banished, and whom he had purposely sent for from one of the neighboring Balcaric isles, he lamented the condition of the times; and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he publicly declared himself "only the Lieutenant of the Senate and people of Rome." Then proclaiming a vacation, he raised out of the commonalty of the province legions and auxiliary troops, besides his old army consisting of one legion, two bodies of horse, and three single battalions of foot. Out of the principal men in the army, most considerable for age and prudence, he formed a kind of Senate, with whom to advise upon all matters of importance, as often as occasion should require. He likewise chose several young men of the Equestrian Order, who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing a gold ring, but, under the title of *Evo-*
cati,

cati, should keep guard before his bed-chamber, instead of the soldiers. He likewise issued proclamations throughout the provinces of the empire, exhorting all to rise in arms unanimously, and assist the common cause, by all the ways and means in their power. About the same time, in fortifying a town, which he had pitched upon for the seat of war, a ring was found, of antique workmanship, in the stone of which was engraved the Goddess Victory with a trophy. Presently after, a ship of Alexandria arrived at Dertosa, loaded with arms, without any person to steer it, or so much as one sailor or passenger on board. From this incident, no body entertained the least doubt, but the war upon which they were entering was just and honorable, and favored likewise by the Gods; when all on a sudden the whole design had like to have been unexpectedly blasted. One of the two bodies of horse, repenting of the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to desert him upon his approach to the camp; and were with some difficulty kept in their duty. And some slaves who had been presented to him by a freedman of Nero's, on purpose to murder him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow passage to the bath. Being overheard to encourage one another not to lose the opportunity, they were called to an account concerning it; and by recourse to the torture, a confession was extorted from them.

XI. These dangers were followed by the death of Vindex, at which being extremely discouraged, as if fortune had quite forsaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life; but receiving advice by his messengers from Rome that Nero was slain, and that all had taken an oath to him as emperor, he laid aside the title of Lieutenant, and took upon him that of Cæsar. Putting himself upon his march with his general's cloak on, and a

dagger hanging from his neck before his breast, he did not resume the use of the Toga, until Nymphidius Sabinus, commander of the guards at Rome, with the two lieutenants, Fonteius Capito in Germany, and Claudius Macer in Africa, who opposed his establishment, were all suppressed.

XII. A rumor of his cruelty and avarice had reached the city before his arrival ; as that he had punished some cities of Spain and Gaul, for not joining him readily, by the imposition of heavy taxes, and some by levelling their walls ; and had put to death the governors and procurators with their wives and children : likewise that a golden crown, of fifteen pound weight, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, with which he was presented by the Tarraconians, he had melted down, and had exacted from them three ounces that were wanting in the weight. This report of him was confirmed and encreased, as soon as he entered the town. For some rowers belonging to the fleet, who had been taken into the troops by Nero, he would oblige to return to their former condition ; but they refusing to comply, and obstinately demanding to continue in the service in which they were, he not only dispersed them by a body of horse let loose upon them, but likewise executed every tenth man amongst them. He also broke a battalion of Germans, which had been formed by the preceding emperors, for the guard of their persons, and upon many occasions found very faithful, and sent them back into their own country, without giving them any gratuity ; pretending that they were more inclined to favor the advancement of Cn. Dolabella, near whose gardens they had their encampment, than his own. The following particulars likewise were related concerning him, in the way of ridicule ; but whether with or
without

without foundation, I know not: as that, upon the serving up of a handsome supper, he fetched a deep groan: that when one of the stewards presented him with a short draught of his accounts, he reached him from his table a dish of soap, for his care and diligence; and when Canus the piper had played much to his satisfaction, he presented him, with his own hand, five denarii taken out of his own pocket.

XIII. His arrival therefore in town was not very agreeable to the people; and this appeared at the next public diversion. For when the farce-actors began their noted song,

Venit, io, Simus a villâ:

See Flatnose come from rural plains;

all the spectators, with one voice, went on with the rest, repeating and acting the first verse several times over.

XIV. He acquired the empire with more favor and authority than he managed it, though he nevertheless gave many proofs of his being an excellent prince: but these were not so grateful to the people, as his misconduct was offensive. He was governed by three favorites, who, because they resided at court, and were constantly about him, obtained the name of his pædagogues. These were Titus Vinius his lieutenant in Spain, a man of a disposition extremely covetous; Cornelius Laco, who, from an assessor to the prince, was advanced to be commander of the guards, a person of intolerable arrogance, as well as indolence; his freedman Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the use of the cognomen Martianus, who was now a candidate for the highest honor within the reach of any person of
the

the Equestrian Order. He resigned himself so implicitly into the power of those three favorites, who governed in every thing according to the capricious impulse of their vices and tempers, and his authority was so much abused by them, that the tenor of his conduct was not very consistent with itself. At one time, he was more rigorous and frugal, at another, more lavish and negligent, than became a prince who had been chosen by the people, and was so far advanced in years. He condemned some men of the first rank in the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one; and the privilege belonging to such as had three children, only to one or two; and that with great difficulty, and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied them, but abolished the vacation which had been granted them for the winter, and the beginning of the year.

XV. It was thought that he likewise intended to reduce the offices held by Senators and men of the Equestrian Order, to a term of two years' continuance; and to dispose of them to none but such as were unwilling to accept of them, and had refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only to the proprietors the tenth part. For this purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights; with orders, that if players or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since the others, having, no doubt, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay. But on the other hand, he suffered his attendants and freedmen to sell or give away the revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, and to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay when the Roman
people

people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the most mischievous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, he protected them, and even dignified Halotus with a commission for one of the best procurations in his disposal. And in favor of Tigellinus, he, by a proclamation, reprimanded the people for their cruelty.

XVI. By this conduct, he incurred the hatred of all Orders of the people, but especially the soldiery. For his commanders having promised them in his name a donative upon their taking the oath to him before his arrival in the city; he refused to make it good, and now and then said, "that he used to choose his soldiers at pleasure, not buy them." Thus the soldiers every where became exasperated against him. The guards he alarmed with apprehensions of danger and unworthy treatment; cashiering occasionally many of them as disaffected to his government, and favorers of Nymphidius. But most of all, the army in Upper Germany was incensed against him, at being defrauded of the rewards due to them for the service they had rendered in the insurrection of the Gauls under Vindex. They therefore first ventured to oppose the new emperor, refusing upon the Calends of January to take an oath to any but the Senate; and immediately dispatched deputies to the Prætorian troops, to let them know, "they did not like the emperor who had been set up in Spain," and to desire that "they would make choice of another, such as might meet with the approbation of all the armies."

XVII. Upon receiving intelligence of this, imagining that he was flighted, not so much on account of his age, as the want of children, he immediately singled out of a company of young persons of rank, who came to pay

their respects to him, Piso Frugi Licinianus, a youth of noble descent and fine talents, for whom he had before contracted such a regard, that he had appointed him in his will the heir both of his estate and name. Him he now styled his son, and taking him to the camp, adopted him in the presence of an assembly of troops, but without making any mention of a donative. This circumstance afforded the better opportunity to M. Salvius Otho of accomplishing his design six days after the adoption.

XVIII. Many remarkable prodigies, which happened ever since the beginning of his reign, forewarned him of his approaching fate. In every town through which he passed in his way from Spain to Rome, victims were slain on the right and left of him ; and one of these, which was a bull, being frightened with the stroke of an ax, broke the rope with which he was tied, and running straight against his chariot, with his fore-feet elevated, bespattered him all over with blood. Likewise as he was alighting, one of the guard, being pushed forward by the crowd, had very near wounded him with his lance. And upon his entering the city and the palace, he was received with an earthquake, and a noise like the lowing of cattle. These signs of ill-fortune were followed by some that were still more apparently such: Out of all his treasure he had culled a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn with it his image of Fortune at Tusculum. But, on a sudden, as if it deserved to be disposed of in a more august place, he consecrated it to Venus in the Capitol: and next night, he dreamt that Fortune appeared to him, complaining that she had been defrauded of the present intended her, and threatening to resume what she had given him. Terrified at this denunciation, about break of day he sent some persons before him to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice which might avert the displeasure of the Goddess ;
and

and when he himself arrived at the place, he found nothing but some hot embers upon the altar, and an old man in black standing by, holding in a glass some incense, and some wine in an earthen pot. It was remarked, too, that whilst he was sacrificing upon the Calends of January, his crown fell from his head, and upon his consulting the pullets in the way of augury, they flew away. Farther, upon the day of his adopting Piso, when he was to harangue the soldiers, the seat which he used upon those occasions, through the neglect of his attendants, was not placed, according to custom, upon his tribunal; and in the Senate-house, his curule chair was set with the back forward.

XIX. The day before he was slain, as he was sacrificing in the morning, the sooth-sayer warned him now and then to be upon his guard, for that he was in danger of being assassinated, and that in a short time. Soon after, he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the camp. And though most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately, in hopes that he might quell the tumult by his authority and presence, he resolved to do nothing more than keep close within the palace, and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers, who were encamped in different parts about the town. He put on a linen coat of defence, however; remarking, at the same time, that it would avail him little against the points of so many swords. But being tempted out by false rumors, which the conspirators had purposely spread to make him venture abroad, some persons about him too hastily assuring him that the tumult was ceased, the mutineers all suppressed, and the rest coming to congratulate him, resolved to continue firm in their obedience; he went out to meet them with that assurance, that upon a

foldier's boasting that he had killed Otho, he asked him "by what authority?" and went on as far as the Forum. There the horse, appointed to dispatch him, making their way through the crowd, upon seeing him at a distance, halted a while; after which galloping up to him, now abandoned by all his attendants, they put him to death.

XX. Some authors say, that upon their first approach he cried out "What do you mean, Fellow-foldiers? I am yours, and you are mine," and promised them a donative: but the generality of writers relate, that he forwardly offered his throat, and said to them, "Do your work, and strike, since you are resolved upon it." It is remarkable, that not one of those who were by, ever offered to assist the emperor; and all that were sent for, flighted the summons, excepting only a battalion of troops from Germany. They, in consideration of his late kindness in showing them particular attention during a sickness which prevailed in the camp, made all possible haste to his assistance, but came too late; for being not sufficiently acquainted with the town, they had taken a circuitous rout. He was slain near the Curtian Lake, and there left, until a common soldier returning from the receipt of corn, throwing down the load which he carried, cut off his head. There being upon it no hair, by which he might hold it, he put it in his lap; but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth, he carried it in that manner to Otho. The latter gave it to the drudges and slaves that attended the soldiery; and they, fixing it upon the point of a spear, carried it with much abusive merriment round the camp, crying out as they went along, "Enjoy thyself, Galba, now in thy old age." They had been excited to this rude way of banter, by a report spread a few days before,

that, upon some-body's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,

Ετι μοι μενος εμπεδον εστιν.

My strength as yet feels no decay.

A freedman of Patrobius's, who himself had been Nero's, purchased the head from them at the price of a hundred gold pieces, and threw it into the place where by Galba's order his patron had been put to death. At last, after some time, his steward Argius buried it, with the rest of his body, in his own gardens near the Aurelian way.

XXI. In person, he was of a good size, bald before, blue-eyed, crook-nosed, and his hands and feet were so distorted with the gout, that he could neither endure a shoe, nor turn over, or so much as hold a book. He had likewise an excrescence in his right side, which hung down to that degree, that it was with difficulty kept up by a bandage.

XXII. He is reported to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter-time before day. At supper he fed so heartily, that he would give of the relics of his plate by handfuls to be distributed amongst the waiters. He was in his lust more inclined to the male sex, and such of them too as were old. It is said of him, that in Spain, when Icelus, an old catamite of his, brought him the news of Nero's death, he not only kissed him heartily before company, but begged of him to remove all impediments, and then took him aside into a private apartment.

XXIII. He lost his life in the seventy-third year of his age, and the seventh month of his reign. The Senate, as soon as they could with safety, ordered a statue to be erected for him upon the pillar called *Rostrata*, in that

part of the Forum where he was slain. But Vespasian cancelled the decree, upon a suspicion that he had sent assassins from Spain into Judea to murder him.

Galba was, of a private man, the most wealthy of any that had ever aspired to the imperial dignity. He valued himself upon his being descended from the family of the *Servii*, but still more upon his relation to *Q. Catulus Capitolinus*, celebrated for integrity and virtue. He was likewise distantly related to *Livia*, the wife of *Augustus*; by whose interest he was preferred from the station which he held in the palace, to the dignity of *Consul*, and who left him a great legacy at her death. His parsimonious way of living, and his aversion to all superfluity or excess, were construed into avarice as soon as he became emperor; whence *Plutarch* observes, that the pride which he took in his temperance and economy was unseasonable. While he endeavored to reform the profusion of the public money, which prevailed in the reign of *Nero*, he ran into the opposite extreme; and it is objected to him by some historians, that he maintained not the imperial dignity in a degree consistent even with decency. He was not sufficiently attentive either to his own security or the tranquillity of the State, when he refused to pay the soldiers the donative which he had promised them. This breach of faith seems to be the only act in his life that affects his integrity; and it contributed more to his ruin than even the odium which he incurred, by the open venality and rapaciousness of his favorites, particularly *Vinius*.

M. SALVIUS OTHO.

I. THE ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentum, of an ancient and honorable family, and indeed one of the most considerable in Etruria: His grandfather M. Salvius Otho, (whose father was a Roman knight, but his mother of mean extraction, for it is not certain whether she was free-born) by the favor of Livia Augusta, in whose house he had his education, was made a Senator, but never rose higher than the Prætorship. His father, L. Otho, was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, so dearly beloved by Tiberius, and so much resembled him in the face, that most people believed he was the father of him. He behaved with great strictness and severity, not only in the city-offices, but in the Proconsulate of Africa, and some extraordinary commissions in the army. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illyricum, who, in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put to the sword their commanders, as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. He ordered the execution to be before his tent, under his own eyes; though he knew they had been advanced to higher posts in the army by Claudius, on that very account. By this action he acquired fame, but lessened his interest at court; which however he soon recovered, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight, and which he had learnt

from some of his slaves. For the Senate ordered a statue of him to be erected in the palace; an honor that had been conferred but upon very few before him. And Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a Patrician, commending him at the same time in the highest terms, and concluding with these words, "A man, than whom I don't so much as wish to have children that should be better." He had two sons by a very noble woman, Albia Terentia, viz. L. Titianus, and a younger called Marcus, who had the same cognomen with himself. He had also a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, Germanicus's son, before she was of marriageable age.

II. The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the Calends of May, in the Consulship of Camillus Aruntius and Domitius Ænobarbus. He was from his earliest youth so riotous and wild, that he was often severely scourged by his father. He was said to run about in the night-time, to seize upon any one he met, that was either drunk or too feeble to make resistance, and toss him in a blanket. After his father's death, to make his court the more effectually to a freedwoman about the palace, who was in great favor, he pretended to be in love with her, though she was old, and almost decrepit. Having by her means got into Nero's good graces, he soon became one of his principal favorites, by the conformity of his disposition to that of the emperor; or, as some say, by a customary practice of mutual pollution. He had so great a sway at court, that when a man of Consular rank was condemned for bribery, having tampered with him for a large sum of money, to procure his pardon, before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the Senate, to return his thanks.

III. Being

III. Being now made privy to all the emperor's secrets, upon the day designed for the murder of his mother, he entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to prevent suspicion. Poppæa Sabina, whom Nero being in love with had taken from her husband, and committed to his trust, he received under pretence of marrying her. And not satisfied with debauching her, he loved her so extravagantly, that he could not with patience bear Nero for his rival. It is however believed, he not only refused to admit those sent by Nero to fetch her, but that he once shut him out, and kept him standing before the door, mixing prayers and menaces in vain, and demanding back again what was entrusted to his keeping. His pretended marriage therefore being dissolved, he was sent lieutenant into Lusitania. That treatment of him was thought sufficiently severe, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which notwithstanding broke forth at last, and was published to the world in the following distich,

Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exul honore ?

Uxoris mœchus cæperat esse suæ.

Ye ask why Otho's banish'd ? Know the cause

Comes not within the verge of vulgar laws.

The rogue, a stranger to domestic strife,

Had dar'd, it seems, to sleep with his own wife.

He governed the province in quality of Quæstor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice,

IV. As soon as an opportunity of revenge offered, he readily joined Galba in his design, and at the same time conceived hopes of procuring the imperial dignity for himself. To this he was much encouraged by the condition of the times, but still more by the assurances given him by

Seleucus

Seleucus the astrologer, who, having formerly told him that he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising the empire again, and that in a very short time. He therefore let slip no opportunity of making his court to all about him by all manner of civilities. As often as he entertained Galba at supper, he distributed to every man of the battalion at that time attending the emperor as his guard, a gold piece; endeavoring likewise to oblige the rest of the soldiers in one way or another. Being chosen an arbitrator by one that had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bought it, and gave it him; so that now almost every body thought and said, that he was the only man worthy to succeed the emperor.

V. He entertained hopes of being adopted by Galba, and expected it every day. But finding himself disappointed, by Piso's being preferred before him, he resolved upon the use of violence to obtain his purpose; and to this he was instigated, as well by the greatness of his debts, as the resentment of Galba's behaviour towards him. For he did not conceal his opinion, "that he must sink unless he was emperor, and that it signified nothing whether he fell by the hands of his enemies in the field, or of his creditors in the Forum." He had a few days before squeezed out of a slave of Cæsar's a million of sesterces for procuring him a stewardship; and this was the whole fund he had for carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was entrusted to only five of the guards, but afterwards to ten others, each of the five naming two. They had every one ten thousand sesterces paid down, and were promised fifty thousand more. By these, others were drawn in, but not many, from a confident assurance, that when
the

the matter came to the crisis, they should have enough to join them.

VI. He had at first an intention, immediately after the departure of Piso, to seize the camp, and fall upon Galba, whilst he was at supper in the palace, but was restrained by a regard for the battalion at that time upon duty, lest he should bring too great an odium upon it ; because the same happened to be upon the guard before, both when Caius was slain, and Nero deserted. For some time after, likewise, he was restrained by a scruple of mind about the luckiness of the season, as also the advice of Seleucus. Upon the day fixed for the enterprize, having given his accomplices notice to wait for him in the Forum near the temple of Saturn, at the gilded Mile-Pillar, he went in the morning to pay his respects to Galba ; and being received with a kiss as usual, he attended him at sacrifice, and heard the predictions of the haruspex*. A freedman of his then bringing him word, that the architects were come, which was the signal that

* *Haruspex*, *Auspex*, or *Augur*, denoted any person who foretold futurity, or interpreted omens. There was at Rome a body of priests, or College, under this title, whose office it was to foretel future events, chiefly from the flight, chirping, or feeding of birds, and from other appearances. They were of the greatest authority in the Roman state ; for nothing of importance was done respecting the public, either at home or abroad, in peace or war, without consulting them. The Romans derived the practice of Augury chiefly from the Tuscans ; and anciently their youth used to be instructed as carefully in this art, as afterwards they were in the Greek literature. For this purpose, by a decree of the Senate, a certain number of the sons of the leading men at Rome was sent to the twelve states of Etruria for instruction.

had been agreed upon, he withdrew, as if it were with a design to view a house upon sale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some say he pretended to be seized with an ague fit, and ordered those about him to make that excuse for him, if he was enquired after. Being then quickly put into a woman's sedan, he made the best of his way for the camp. But the chairmen growing tired, he got out, and began to run. His shoe becoming loose, he stopped again, but being immediately taken up by his attendants upon their shoulders, and unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he came amidst auspicious acclamations and drawn swords into the *Principia** in the camp; all that met him now joining in the cavalcade, as if they had been privy to the design. Upon this, sending away some to dispatch Galba and Piso, he said nothing else in his address to the soldiery, to secure their affections, than these few words: "I shall be content with whatever ye think fit to leave me."

VII. Towards the close of the day, he entered the Senate, and after he had made a short speech to them, pretending that he had been seized in the streets, and compelled by violence to take the government upon him, which he designed to manage in conjunction with them, he went

* The *Principia* was a broad open space, which separated the lower part of the Roman camp from the upper, and extended the whole breadth of the camp. In this place was erected the tribunal of the general, when he either administered justice or harangued the army. Here likewise the Tribunes held their courts, and punishments were inflicted. The principal standards of the army were deposited in the *Principia*; and in it also stood the altars of the Gods, and the images of the emperors, by which the soldiers swore.

to the palace. Besides other civilities which he received from such as flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and seemed not in the least offended with the appellation. Nay, some authors relate, that he put the cognomen of Nero to his patents, and the first letter which he sent to the governors of provinces. He suffered all his images and statues to be replaced, and restored his procurators and freedmen to their former posts. And the first writing which he signed as emperor, was a promise of fifty millions of sesterces to finish the Golden-house. He is said to have been greatly frightened that night in his sleep, and to have groaned heavily; and being found, by those who came running in to see what the matter was, lying upon the floor before his bed, he endeavored by every kind of atonement to pacify the ghost of Galba, by whom he had seen himself violently tumbled out of bed. The next day, as he was taking the omens, a great storm arising, and he getting a grievous fall, he now and then muttered to himself:

Τι γὰρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς;

Wretch! what have I to do with things divine?

VIII. About the same time, the armies in Germany took an oath to Vitellius as emperor. Upon intelligence of this arriving, he advised the Senate to send thither deputies, to inform them, that a prince had been already chosen; and to persuade them to peace and good agreement. By letters and messages, however, he offered Vitellius to become his partner in the empire, and his son-in-law. But a war being now unavoidable, and the generals and troops, whom Vitellius had sent before him, advancing, he had a proof of the attachment and fidelity of the guards, which had nearly proved fatal to the Senatorian Order. It was judged proper to send away some arms to the north of Ita-

ly

ly by sea. While people were employed in fetching these out of the camp in the evening, some of the soldiers suspecting a conspiracy, excited a tumult; and on a sudden, all of them, without any leader, ran to the palace, demanding that the whole Senate should be put to the sword; and having repulsed some of the Tribunes who endeavored to stop them, and slain others, they broke, all bloody as they were, into the banqueting room, enquiring for the emperor; nor would they quit the place until they had seen him. He now entered upon his expedition against Vitellius with great alacrity, but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous circumstances which attended it. For the *Ancilia* * had been taken out of the temple of Mars, for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced; during which interval it had of old been looked upon as very unfortunate to engage in any enterprise. He likewise set forward upon the day when the worshippers of the Mother of the Gods † begin their la-

* The *Ancile* was a round shield, said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa, and supposed to be the shield of Mars. It was kept with great care in the sanctuary of his temple, as a symbol of the perpetuity of the Roman empire; and that it might not be stolen, eleven others were made exactly similar to it.

† This ideal personage was the Goddess Cybele, the wife of Saturn, called also *Rhea*, *Ops*, *Vesta*, *Magna Mater*, &c. She was painted as a matron, crowned with towers, sitting in a chariot drawn by lions. A statue of her was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome, in the time of the second Punic war, and was there much honored. Her priests were the Corybantes, who were all castrated, and worshipped her by the sound of drums, tabors, pipes, and cymbals. The rites of this Goddess were disgraced by great indecency of expression,

mentations

mentations and wailing. Besides these, other unlucky omens attended him. For, in a victim offered to father Dis*, he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are regarded as favorable; whereas, in that sacrifice, the contrary intimations are judged the most promising. At his first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber; and at twenty miles distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses.

IX. Though it was the general opinion that it would be proper to protract the war, as the enemy were distressed by famine and the straitness of their quarters, yet he resolved with the like rashness to come to an engagement as soon as possible; whether from an impatience under his present uneasiness of mind, and in the hope of accomplishing his design in a great measure before the arrival of Vitellius, or because he could not resist the ardor of the soldiers, who were all clamorous for battle. He was not, however, in any of the fights which ensued, but staid behind at Brixellum. He had the advantage in three flight engagements, near the Alps, about Placentia, and a place called Castor's; but was, by a fraudulent stratagem of the enemy, defeated in the last and greatest battle, at Bedriacum. For some hopes of a conference being given, and the soldiers being drawn out as it were to hear the conditions of peace declared, very unexpectedly, and

* Otherwise called *Orcus*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter infernus*, and *Stygius*. He was the brother of Jupiter, and king of the infernal regions. His wife was Proserpina, the daughter of Ceres, whom he carried off as she was gathering flowers in the plains of Enna in Sicily. The victims offered to the infernal Gods were black: they were killed with their faces bent downwards; the knife was applied from below, and the blood was poured into a ditch.

amidst

amidst their mutual salutations, they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this he formed a resolution to put an end to his life, more out of shame, as many think, and not without reason, to persist in a struggle for the empire to the hazard of the public, and so many lives; than out of despair, or any distrust of his troops; for he had still entire those whom he had reserved for a second trial of his fortune, and others were coming up from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia; nor were the troops lately defeated so far discouraged, as not to be ready, even alone, to run any risk to wipe off their former disgrace.

X. My father Suetonius Lenis was in this battle, being at that time an Augusticlavian Tribune in the thirteenth legion. He used frequently to say, that Otho, before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that, upon hearing an account given once at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he never would have meddled with Galba, but that he was confident he might succeed in his design without a war; and that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defeat of the army, and finding that he met with no credit, but was railed at for a liar and a coward, as if he had run away from the field of battle, he fell upon his sword at the emperor's feet; upon the sight of which, my father said, Otho cried out, "that he would expose to no farther danger such brave men, who had deserved so well at his hands." Advising therefore his brother, his brother's son, and the rest of his friends, to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, he sent them away; and then withdrawing into a private room by himself, he wrote a long letter of consolation to his sister. He like-
wife

wife sent another to Messalina, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, recommending to her his relics and memory. He then burnt all the letters which he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror. What money he had left, he distributed amongst his domestics.

XI. And now being prepared and just upon the point of dispatching himself, he was induced to suspend his design from a great uproar which had broke out in the camp. Finding that such of the soldiers as were making off had been seized and detained as deserters, "Let us add," said he, "this night to our life." These were his very words. He then gave orders that no violence should be offered to any body; and keeping his chamber-door open until late at night, he allowed all that pleased the liberty to come and see him. At last, after quenching his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took up two poniards, and having examined the points of both, put one of them under his pillow, and shutting his chamber-door, slept very soundly, until, awaking about break of day, he stabbed himself under the left pap. Some persons breaking into the room upon the first groan he gave, one while covering, and another while exposing his wound to the view of the by-standers, he soon died. His funeral was dispatched immediately, according to his own order, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and ninety-fifth day of his reign.

XII. The person and appearance of Otho no way corresponded to the great resolution which he displayed upon this occasion: for he is said to have been of low stature, splay-footed and bandy-legged. He was however effe-

minately nice in the care of his person : the hair of his body he took away by the roots ; and because he was somewhat bald, wore a kind of peruke, so exactly fitted to his head, that no body could have known it for such. He used to shave every day, and rub his face with bread soaked in asses milk ; the use of which he began when the down first appeared upon his chin, to prevent his having any beard. It is said likewise that he celebrated publicly the holy rites of Isis*, clad in a linen garment, such as is used by the worshippers of that Goddess. All those particulars, I imagine, gave occasion to the world to wonder the more at his death, the manner of which was so little suitable to his life. Many of the soldiers then present, kissing and bedewing with their tears his hands and feet as he lay dead, and celebrating him as “ a most gallant man, and an incomparable emperor,” immediately put an end to their own lives upon the spot, not far from his funeral pile. Many of those likewise who were at a distance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguish of their hearts, fell a fighting amongst themselves, until they dispatched one another. To conclude : the generality of mankind, though they hated him whilst living, yet highly extolled him after his death ; insomuch

* Jupiter, to prevent the discovery of his amour with Io the daughter of the river Inachus, transformed her into a heifer, in which metamorphosis she was placed by Juno under the watchful inspection of Argus ; but flying into Egypt, and her keeper being killed by Mercury, she recovered her human shape, and was married to Osiris, a king of that country. Her husband afterwards became a God of the Egyptians, and she a Goddess under the name of Isis. She was represented with a *Corona Turrita* on her head, an *Amphora* full of ears of corn in one hand, and a *Sistrum* (a musical instrument) in the other.

that

that it was the common talk and opinion, “that Galba had been taken off by him, not so much from a desire to reign himself, as to restore Rome to its ancient liberty.”

IT was remarkable in the fortune of this emperor, that he owed both his elevation and catastrophe to the inextricable embarrassments in which he was involved; first in respect of pecuniary circumstances, and next, of political. He was not, so far as we can learn, a follower of any of the sects of philosophers which justified, and even recommended suicide, in particular cases: yet he perpetrated that act with extraordinary coolness and resolution; and, what is no less remarkable, from the motive, as he avowed, of public expediency only. It was observed of him, for many years after his death, that “none ever died like Otho.”

A. VITELLIUS.

I. **AUTHORS** give very different accounts of the origin of the Vitellian family. Some mention it as ancient and noble, others as recent and obscure, nay, extremely mean. These several representations, I am inclined to think, have been occasioned by the flatterers and detractors of Vitellius, after he came to be emperor ; and that the condition of the family was not so described some time before. There is extant a book of Q. Eulogius to Q. Vitellius, Quæstor to Augustus, in which it is said, that the Vitellii were descended from Faunus king of the Aborigines, and Vitellia, who was worshipped in many places as a Goddess, and that they reigned formerly over all Latium: that all who were left of the family removed out of the country of the Sabines to Rome, and were chosen amongst the Patricians: that some monuments of the family continued a long time ; as the Vitellian way reaching from the Janiculum to the sea, and likewise a colony of that name, which, in a very remote period of time, they desired leave of the government to defend against the Æquiculi, with a force raised out of their own family only : also that, in the time of the war with the Samnites, some of the Vitellii that went with the troops levied for the security of Apulia, settled at Nuceria, and that their descendents a long time after returned again to Rome, and were chosen into the Senate. On the other hand, the generality of

writers

writers say, that the founder of the family was a freed-man. Cassius Severus and some others relate, that he was likewise a cobbler, whose son having made a considerable fortune by the practice of information, and the purchase of confiscated estates, begat, by a common strumpet, daughter of one Antiochus a baker, a child, who afterwards became a Roman knight. But of these different accounts the reader is left to judge.

II. It is certain, however, that P. Vitellius of Nuceria, whether of an ancient family, or of sordid extraction, was a Roman knight, and a procurator to Augustus. He left behind him four sons, all men of very great figure, who had the same cognomen, but the different prænomena of Aulus, Quintus, Publius, and Lucius. Aulus died in the possession of the Consulship, which office he bore jointly with Domitius the father of Nero Cæsar. He was elegant to excess in his manner of living, and notorious for the vast expence of his entertainments. Quintus was turned out of the Senatorian Order, when, upon a motion made by Tiberius, a resolution passed to purge the Senate of such as were in any respect not duly qualified for that honor. Publius was an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, prosecuted his enemy and murderer Cn. Piso, and procured sentence against him. After he had been made Prætor, being taken up amongst the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother, to be confined in his house, he opened a vein, with the intent of bleeding to death. He suffered the wound however to be bound up and cured, not so much from any repentance of the resolution he had formed, as to comply with the importunity of his relations. He died afterwards a natural death in that confinement. Lucius, after his Consul-

ship, was made governor of Syria, and by his politic management not only brought Artabanus king of the Parthians to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions. He afterwards bore two ordinary Consulships, and the Censorship likewise with the emperor Claudius. Whilst that prince was absent upon his expedition into Britain, the care of the empire was committed to him, being a man of great integrity and industry. But he lessened his character not a little, by his passionate fondness for a freedwoman, with whose spittle, mixed with honey, he used to anoint his throat and chops, by way of remedy for some complaint, not privately nor seldom, but daily and publicly. He was extravagantly addicted to flattery. He it was who gave rise to the worshipping of Caius Cæsar as a God, when, upon his return from Syria, he would not presume to accost him any otherwise, than with his head covered, turning himself round, and then falling flat upon the earth. And to leave no artifice untried to secure the favor of Claudius, who was entirely governed by his wives and freedmen, he requested as the greatest favor from Messalina, that she would be pleased to let him take off her shoes, which when he had done, he put up her right shoe, and wore it constantly betwixt his Toga and his tunic, kissing it from time to time in the way of adoration. He likewise worshipped golden images of Narcissus and Pallas amongst his household Gods. It was he too, that, when Claudius exhibited the secular games, in his compliments to him upon that occasion, used this expression, “May you often do the same,”

III. He died of a palsy the day after his seizure with it, leaving behind him two sons, whom he had by a most excellent and respectable wife, Sextilia. He had lived to
see

see them both Consuls, the same year and the whole year likewise; the younger succeeding the elder for the latter six months. The Senate honored him after his decease with a funeral at the public expence, and with a statue in the Rostra, which had this inscription upon the base: "A person of stedfast loyalty to his prince." The emperor Aulus Vitellius, the son of this Lucius, was born upon the eighth of the Calends of October, or, as some say, upon the seventh of the Ides of September, in the Consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus. His parents were so terrified with the predictions of astrologers upon the calculation of his nativity, that his father used his utmost endeavors to prevent his being sent governor into any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother, upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, immediately lamented him as utterly ruined. He spent his youth amongst the catamites of Tiberius at Capreæ, was himself constantly stigmatised with the name of Spintria, and was supposed, by the gratification of the emperor's unnatural passion, to have been the occasion of his father's rise.

IV. In the subsequent part of his life, he continued to be most scandalously vicious, but in great favor at court; being upon a very intimate footing with Caius, because of his fondness for the exercise of chariot-driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming. But he was in a still greater degree acceptable to Nero, as well upon these same accounts, as for a particular piece of service which he rendered him. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, though he was extremely desirous to perform amongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not permit him, notwithstanding the people entreated much for it. Upon his quitting the theatre, Vitellius

fetch'd him back again, pretending to be commission'd by the people who persisted in their suit, to request the favor of his return, and so gave the company a farther opportunity for effecting the accomplishment of what they requested.

V. By the favor of these three princes, he was not only advanced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred Order; after which he held the Proconsulship of Africa, and had the superintendency of the public works, which he managed with unequal conduct, and a consequent diversity of character. For he governed the province with singular integrity during two years, in the latter of which he acted as deputy to his brother, who succeeded him. But in his office in the city, he was said to pillage the temples of their presents and ornaments, and to have exchanged tin and brass for gold and silver.

VI. He had to wife Petronia, the daughter of a man of Consular rank, and by her a son named Petronius, who was blind of an eye. The mother being willing to appoint this youth her heir, upon condition that he should be discharged from under his father's authority, the latter discharged him accordingly, but shortly after, as was believed, murdered him, charging him with a design upon his life, and pretending that he had, from a consciousness of his guilt, drank the poison he had prepared for his father. Soon after he married Galeria Fundana, the daughter of a man of Prætorian rank, and had by her both sons and daughters. Amongst the former was one who had such a stammering in his speech, that he was little better than if he had been dumb.

VII. He

VII. He was sent by Galba into Lower Germany, contrary to his expectation. It is supposed that he was assisted in procuring this appointment by the interest of T. Junius, at that time very powerful at court; whose friendship he had long before gained by his favoring the same party with him in the Circensian games. But Galba openly declared that none were less to be feared, than those who were only concerned for their bellies, and that his gluttony could not but be sufficiently satisfied with the plenty of that province; so that it is evident he was pitched upon for that government more out of contempt than kindness for him. It is certain, that when he was to set forward, he had not money for the expences of his journey; he being at that time so much straitened in his circumstances, that he was obliged to put his wife and children whom he left at Rome, into a garret which he hired for them, to let his own house for the remaining part of the year; and pawned a pearl taken from a pendant of his mother's, to defray his charges on the road. A crowd of creditors who were waiting for him to stop him, and amongst them the Sinuessani and Formiani, whose taxes he had converted to his own use, he eluded, by alarming them with the apprehension of false accusation; having brought an action for damages against a certain freedman, who was clamorous in demanding a debt of him, under pretence that the person had kicked him: which action he would not relinquish, until he had squeezed from the defendant fifty thousand sesterces. Upon his arrival in the province, the army which was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for insurrection, received him with open arms, as if he had been sent them from the heavens. It was no small recommendation to their favor, that he was the son of a man who had been thrice Consul, was in the prime of his years, and

of

of an easy prodigal disposition. This opinion, which had been long entertained of him, Vitellius confirmed by some late practices: having kissed all the common soldiers whom he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the mule-drivers and travellers; asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see by belching that he had.

VIII. After he had got into the camp, he denied no man any thing he asked for, and relieved all that lay under any charge of infamy, prosecution, or sentence of death. Before a month therefore had passed, without regard to the day or time of the day, he was hurried by the soldiers in the evening out of his bed-chamber in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor. He was then carried round all the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of Julius Cæsar in his hand; which had been taken by some person out of the temple of Mars, and presented to him at the beginning of the solemnity. Nor did he return to his pavilion, until his room of entertainment was all in flames by the chimney's taking fire. Upon this accident, all being in consternation, and dreading it as an unlucky omen, he cried out, "Courage, boys, it shines upon us." And this was all he said to the soldiers upon his advancement. The army of the upper province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the Senate, joining in the proceedings, he very eagerly accepted the cognomen of Germanicus, offered him by the unanimous consent of both armies, but deferred assuming that of Augustus, and for ever refused that of Cæsar.

IX. Intelligence of Galba's death arriving soon after,
when

when he had settled his affairs in Germany he divided his troops into two parts, intending to send one of them before him, against Otho, and to follow after with the other himself. The part he sent before had a lucky omen; for on a sudden an eagle came flying up to them on the right, and having moved round the standards, went easily before them in their march. But on the other hand, when he began to move forward, all the statues on horseback, which were erected for him in several places, fell suddenly down with their legs broken; and the laurel crown, which he had put on as emblematical of auspicious fortune, fell off his head into a river. Soon after at Vienna, as he was upon the bench trying causes, a cock perched upon his shoulder, and afterwards upon his head. The issue corresponded to these omens; for he was not able to keep the empire which had been acquired for him by his lieutenants.

X. He heard of the victory at Bedriacum, and the death of Otho, whilst he was yet in Gaul, and without hesitating in the least, by one proclamation disbanded all the Prætorian battalions, as having given a pernicious precedent to the armies by the murder of Galba, and commanded them to deliver up their arms to his Tribunes. A hundred and twenty, under whose hands he had found petitions presented to Otho, for rewards of their service in the killing of Galba, he besides ordered to be sought out and punished. So far his conduct deserved great approbation, and was such as to afford hope of his becoming an excellent prince, had he not managed his other affairs in a way more suitable to his own nature, and his former manner of life, than to the imperial dignity. For after he began his march, he rode through every city in his rout in a state of triumphal procession; and

and sailed down the rivers in ships delicately built, and dressed up with various kinds of crowns, amidst the most extravagant entertainments. Such was the want of discipline, and the licentiousness both in his family and army, that, not satisfied with the provision every where made for them at the public expence, they committed every kind of ravage and insult upon the inhabitants, wantonly violating all social order, setting slaves at liberty as they pleased; and if any dared to make resistance, they would beat and abuse them, frequently wound, and sometimes kill them. When he had got upon the plains where the battle was fought, some being offended at the smell of the carcases which lay rotting upon the ground, he had the audacity to hearten them by a most detestable remark, "That an enemy when slain smelt very well, especially a fellow-citizen." To qualify, however, the offensiveness of the stench, he drank in the face of the army a large quantity of wine, and with equal vanity and insolence distributed it about him. Spying a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said, "he deserved such a mausoleum;" and sent the poniard with which he had killed himself to the colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. Upon the hills of the Appennine he celebrated a *pervigilium*.

XI. At last he entered the city with trumpets founding, in his general's cloak, and with his sword, amidst a display of standards and banners; his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arms of the soldiers uncovered. After openly violating, more and more, all law, both divine and human, he assumed the office of high-priest, upon the day of the overthrow at Allia, ordered the election of magistrates to be made at once for ten years to come, and made

made himself Consul for life. To put it out of all doubt, what model he intended to follow in his government of the empire, he made his offerings to the ghost of Nero in the middle of the Field of Mars, and with a full assembly of the public priests attending him. And at a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper who pleased the company much, to sing something of Domitius; and upon his beginning some songs of Nero's, he started up in presence of the whole assembly, and expressed his approbation by clapping his hands.

XII. After such a commencement of his career, he conducted his affairs, during the greater part of his reign, entirely by the advice and direction of the vilest amongst the players and charioteers, and especially his freedman Asiaticus. This fellow had, when young, been engaged with him in a course of mutual and unnatural pollution, but, being at last quite tired of the occupation, ran away. His master, some time after, caught him at Puteoli, selling a liquor called *Posca* *, and put him in chains, but soon released him, and retained him in his former capacity. Growing weary, however, of his rough and stubborn temper, he sold him to a strolling fencing-master; after which, when the fellow was to have been brought up to play his part at the conclusion of an entertainment of gladiators, he suddenly stole him away, and at length, upon his being advanced to the government of a province, manumitted him. The first day of his reign, he presented him with gold rings at supper, though in the morning, when all about him requested that favor in his behalf, he

* *Posca* was four wine or vinegar mixed with water. It was used as common drink by the Roman soldiery; and has been found beneficial in the cure of putrid diseases.

expressed the utmost abhorrence of putting so great a stain upon the Equestrian Order.

XIII. He was chiefly addicted to the vices of luxury and cruelty. He always made three meals a day, sometimes four; breakfast, dinner, and supper, and a drunken repast after all. This load of victuals he could well enough bear, from a custom to which he had inured himself, of frequent vomiting. For these several meals he would make different appointments, at the houses of his friends, in the same day. None ever entertained him at less expence than four hundred thousand sesterces. The most famous supper was that given him by his brother, to welcome him to the city; at which, it is said, there were served up no less than two thousand choice fishes, and seven thousand fowls. Yet even this entertainment he himself outdid, at a feast which he gave upon the first use of a dish which had been made for him, and which, for its extraordinary size, he called "The Shield of Minerva." In this dish there were tossed up together the livers of scars, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, with the tongues of flamingos, and the guts of lampreys, which had been brought in ships of war, as far as from the Carpathian Sea, and the Spanish Straights. He was not only a man of an insatiable appetite, but would gratify it likewise at unseasonable times, and with any garbage that came in his way; so that, at a sacrifice, he would snatch from the fire flesh and cakes, which he would eat upon the spot. When he travelled, he would do the same in the inns upon the road, whether the meat was fresh dressed and hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half-eaten.

XIV. He had a strong propensity to the inflicting of punishments,

punishments, and those too which were capital, without any distinction of persons or occasions. Several noblemen, his school-fellows and companions, invited by him to court, he treated with such flattering caresses, as seemed to indicate an affection short only of admitting them to share the honors of the imperial dignity; yet he killed them all by some base means or other. To one he gave poison with his own hand, in a cup of cold water which he called for in a fever. He scarcely spared one of all the usurers, attorneys and publicans, that had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or custom upon the road. One of these, in the very act of paying his respects to him, he ordered away for execution, but immediately sent for him again; upon which all about him applauding his clemency, he commanded him to be slain in his presence, saying, "I have a mind to feed my eyes." Two sons interceding for their father, he ordered to be executed with him. A Roman knight, upon being dragged away for execution, and crying out to him, "You are my heir," he desired him to produce his will: and finding that he had made his freedman joint heir with him, he commanded that both he and his freedman should have their throats cut. He put to death some of the common people for cursing aloud the blue party in the Circensian games; supposing it to be done in contempt of himself, and the expectation of a revolution in the government. But he was against none more severe than drolls and astrologers, of whom as soon as any was informed against, he put him to death without the formality of a trial. He was enraged against them, because, after his proclamation by which he commanded all astrologers to quit Rome, and Italy likewise, before the Calends of October, the following words were immediately posted up in town: "That the Chaldeans likewise pub-

lished their proclamation, that the same Vitellius Germanicus should be no more, by the day of the said Calends." He was even suspected as accessory to his mother's death, by forbidding sustenance to be given her when she was not well; a German witch, whom he held to be oracular, having told him, "That he would reign secure and for a long time, if he survived his mother." But others say, that being quite weary of the state of affairs, and apprehensive of the future, she obtained without difficulty a dose of poison from her son.

XV. In the eighth month of his reign, the armies both of Mœsia and Pannonia revolted from him; as did likewise, of the armies beyond sea, those in Judæa and Syria, part of which took an oath to Vespasian as their emperor, being upon the spot with them; and others, where he was not personally present, did the same for him. On this account, Vitellius, to secure the favor and affection of the people, lavished about him all that he had, publicly and privately, in the most extravagant manner. He likewise made a levy of soldiers in town, and promised all that would enter as volunteers, not only their discharge after the victory, but all the advantages due to veterans who had served their full time in the wars. The enemy now pressing on both by sea and land, on one hand he opposed against them his brother with a fleet, the new levies, and a body of gladiators, and in another quarter the troops and generals that were engaged at Bedriacum. But being every where beaten or betrayed, he came to an agreement with Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, to abdicate, upon condition of having his life and a hundred millions of sesterces granted him. Immediately, upon the palace-steps he publicly declared to the soldiers there assembled in a full body, that he resigned the government,

ment, which he had received against his will. But they all remonstrating against it, he deferred the prosecution of the affair. Next day early in the morning he came down to the Forum in a very poor habit, and with many tears repeated the declaration from a writing which he held in his hand; but the soldiers again interposing, and the people likewise, and encouraging him to have a good heart, promising him at the same time their service with great appearance of zeal, he recovered his courage, and forced Sabinus, with the rest of the Flavian party, who now thought themselves secure, into the Capitol, where he destroyed them all by setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the battle and the fire from Tiberius's house, where he was at an entertainment. Not long after, repenting of what he had done, and throwing the blame of it upon others, he summoned the people together, and swore himself, obliging the rest likewise to swear, "to have the utmost regard to the peace of the public." Then taking his dagger from his side, he presented it first to the Consul, and, upon his refusing it, to the magistrates, and then to every one of the Senators; but none of them being willing to accept it, he went away, as if he meant to lay it up in the temple of Concord; but some crying out to him, "You are Concord," he came back again, and said that he would not only keep his sword, but for the future use the cognomen of *Concord*.

XVI. He advised the Senate to send deputies with the Vestal Virgins, to desire peace, or, at least, time to consider of the state of affairs. The day after, whilst he was waiting for an answer, he received advice by a scout, that the enemy was advancing. Immediately, therefore, throwing himself into a sedan, with only two attendants, a baker and a cook, he privately withdrew to his father's house at

Aventinum, with the view of flying thence into Campania. But a groundless report being circulated, that the enemy was willing to come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. Finding however nobody there, and those who were with him slipping off, he girded about him a belt, stuffed full with gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and piling up against it the bed and bedding.

XVII. By this time the fore-runners of the enemy's army had broke into the palace, and meeting with nobody, searched all places, as was natural upon such an occasion. Being dragged by them out of his cell, and asked "who he was," (for they did not know him), "and if he knew where Vitellius was," he imposed upon them by a lye. But at last being discovered, he begged hard to be kept, if it were in prison, as if he had something to say relative to the security of Vespasian's person, until he was dragged half-naked into the Forum, with his hands tied behind him, a rope about his neck, and his cloaths all torn, amidst the most contemptuous abuse, both by word and deed, all along the Via Sacra; his head being held back by the hair, in the manner of condemned criminals, and the point of a sword put under his chin, that he might hold up his face to public view; several, in the mean time, pelting him with dung and other dirt, whilst others called him *incendiary and glutton*. The mob likewise upbraided him with the defects of his person (for he was monstrously tall, and had a face usually very red with hard drinking, a large belly, and one thigh weak, occasioned by a chariot's running against him, as he was attending upon Caius in his exercise of driving). At length upon the Scalæ Gemoniæ he was tormented and put to death

death in a lingering manner, and then dragged by a hook into the Tiber.

XVIII. He perished with his brother and son, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and verified the conjecture of those, who, from the omen which happened to him at Vienna, as has been related above, foretold that he would be made prisoner by some Gaul. For he was seized by Antonius Primus a general of the adverse party, who was born at Toulouse, and, when a boy, had the name of *Beccus*, which signifies a cock's bill.

AFTER the extinction of the race of the Cæsars, the possession of the imperial power became extremely precarious; and great influence in the army was the means which now invariably led to the throne. The soldiers having arrogated to themselves the right of nomination, they either unanimously elected one and the same person, or different parties supporting the interests of their respective favorites, there arose between them a contention, which was usually determined by an appeal to arms, and followed by the assassination of the unsuccessful competitor. Vitellius, by being a parasite of all the emperors from Tiberius to Nero inclusive, had risen to a high military rank, by which, with a spirit of enterprise, and large promises to the soldiery, it was not difficult to snatch the reins of government, while they yet were fluctuating in the hands of Otho. His ambition prompted to the attempt, and his boldness was crowned with success. In the service of the four preceding emperors, Vitellius had imbibed the principal vices of them all: but what chiefly

distinguished him was extreme voraciousness, which, though he usually pampered it with enormous luxury, could yet be gratified by the vilest and most offensive garbage. The pusillanimity, discovered by this emperor at his death, forms a striking contrast to the heroic behaviour of Otho.

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

I. THE empire, which had now been a long time in a doubtful and unsettled condition, by the rebellion and violent death of three several princes, was at length reduced to a state of peace and security by the Flavian family, a family obscure, indeed, and ignoble, but such as that the public had no cause to regret its elevation; though it is acknowledged that Domitian met with the just reward of his avarice and cruelty. Titus Flavius Petronius, a native of Reate, whether a Centurion or an Evocatus of Pompey's party in the civil war, is uncertain, fled out of the battle of Pharsalia and went home; where having at last obtained his pardon and discharge, he became a collector of money raised by public sales in the way of auction. His son, surnamed Sabinus, was never engaged in the military service (though some say he was a Centurion of the first rank, and others, that whilst he was such, he was discharged upon account of his bad state of health): this Sabinus, I say, was a collector of the custom of the fortieth penny in Asia. And there were remaining, at the time of the advancement of the family, several statues, which had been erected to him by the cities of that province, with this inscription, "To the honest Tax-farmer." He afterwards turned usurer amongst the Helvetii, and there died, leaving behind him his wife Vespasia Polla, and two sons by her; the elder of whom, Sa-

binus, came to be Præfect of the city, and the younger, Vespasian, to be emperor. Polla, descended of a good family at Nursia, had for her father Vespasius Pollio, thrice made Tribune of the soldiers, and at last Præfect of the camp; and her brother was a Senator of Prætorian dignity. There is to this day about six miles from Nursia, in the road to Spolegium, a place upon the top of a mountain, called Vespasiæ; where are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendor and antiquity of the family. I must not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petronius's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire work-people that used to go yearly from the country of Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry; but that he settled at last in the town of Reate, and there married. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest enquiry.

II. Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country-seat called Phalacrina, upon the fifth of the Calends of December, in the evening, in the Consulship of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus; and was educated under the care of Tertulla, his grandmother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging to the family at Cosa. After his advancement to the empire, he used very much to frequent the place where he had spent his infancy; and the villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used to do. And he had so great a regard for the memory of his grandmother, that, upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly drank out of a silver cup which she had been accustomed to use. After assuming the manly habit, he had a long time an aversion for

for the Senatorian tunic, though his brother had obtained it; nor could he be persuaded by any body but his mother to sue for that badge of honor. She at length drove him to it, more by taunts and reproaches, than by her entreaties and authority, calling him now and then by way of abuse her brother's footman. He served in quality of a Tribune in Thrace. When made Quæstor, he got by lot the province of Crete and Cyrene. He was candidate for the Ædileship, and soon after for the Prætorship, not without a refusal in the former case; but at last, with much difficulty, he came in sixth in the poll-books. But the office of Prætor he carried upon the first attempt, and came in with the foremost in number of votes. Being incensed against the Senate, that he might gain by all possible means the good graces of Caius, he demanded of the house extraordinary games for his success in Germany, and advised to add to the punishment of the conspirators against his life, the exposing of their corpses unburied. He likewise gave him thanks in that august assembly for the honor of being admitted to his table.

III. In the mean time he married Flavia Domitilla, who had formerly been mistress to Statilius Capella, a Roman knight of Sabrata in Africa, and of Latin condition; but was soon after declared a free-born citizen of Rome, in a trial before the judges called *Recuperatores*, and brought by her father Flavius Liberalis, a native of Ferentinum, and no more than a secretary to a Quæstor. By her he had the following children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla. He outlived his wife and daughter, and lost them both before he was made emperor. After the death of his wife, he took again to his bed his former concubine Cænis, the freedwoman of Antonia, and her

amanuensis, and kept her even after he was emperor, almost as if she had been his wife.

IV. In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent lieutenant-general of a legion into Germany; whence being removed into Britain, he engaged the enemy in thirty several battles. He reduced under the Roman subjection two very strong nations, and above twenty great towns, with the Isle of Wight upon the coast of Britain, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, and partly under that of Claudius himself. For this behaviour he received the triumphal ornaments, and in a short time after two priests' offices, besides the Consulship, which he held during the two last months of the year. The interval between that and his Proconsulship he spent in ease and retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who had still a great sway with her son, and hated all the friends of Narcissus, who was then dead. Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great reputation, excepting that once, in an uproar at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips. It is certain that he returned thence nothing richer; for his credit was so low, that he was obliged to mortgage his whole estate in land to his brother, and was reduced to the necessity of trading in mules, for the support of his rank: for which reason he was commonly called, "the Muleteer." He is said likewise to have been convicted of squeezing out of a young man of fashion two hundred thousand sesterces for procuring him the *Latus Clavus*, contrary to the will of his father, and was severely reprimanded for it. In his attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he would frequently withdraw out of the theatre, whilst he was singing, and, when he was present, take a sleep; which gave so great offence, that he was not only dismissed

dismissed from the court, but debarred the liberty of saluting that emperor in public. Upon this he retired to a small sequestered town, where he continued until a province, with an army, was offered him, as he lay skulking there in constant fear of his life. A strong opinion had now a long time prevailed through all the East, "that a man from Judæa should at that time be master of the world." This, as the event showed, was a prophecy of the rise of a Roman emperor; but the Jews, applying it to themselves, broke out into a rebellion, slew their governor, routed the Consular lieutenant of Syria, who was advancing to his assistance, and took an eagle, the standard of one of his legions. As the suppressing of this rebellion appeared to require a stronger force, and an active general, such as might be safely trusted in an affair of so much importance, he was chosen in preference to all others, both as a person of known activity, and, by reason of the obscurity of his birth and name, one not to be in the least dreaded. Two legions therefore, eight squadrons of horse, and ten battalions of foot, being added to the former troops in Judæa, and taking with him his eldest son as his lieutenant, as soon as he arrived in the province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by re-forming immediately the discipline of the camp; and engaging the enemy once or twice with that resolution, that, in the attack of a castle, he had his knee hurt by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield.

V. After Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he entertained hopes of obtaining the empire, with the prospect of which he had long before flattered himself, from the following omens. Upon an estate belonging to the Flavian family in the neighbourhood of Rome, there was an old oak, sacred

sacred to Mars, which, at the three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch ; evident intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, which quickly withered away ; and accordingly the girl that was born did not live out a twelvemonth. The second was strong and tall, which portended great good-fortune ; but the third was like a tree. His father Sabinus, encouraged by these omens, and likewise by some observations of the Haruspices, told his mother, “ that she had got a grandson who would be emperor of Rome ;” at which she laughed heartily, and wondered, she said, “ that her son should doat already, whilst she continued still sensible.” Afterwards in his *Ædileship*, when C. Cæsar, being in a rage at him for not taking care to have the streets kept clean, ordered the bosom of his gown to be stuffed with dirt, some at that time construed it into a sign, that the government, being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion, would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap. Once as he was at dinner, a strange dog brought a man’s hand out of the street, and laid it under the table. And as he was at supper another time, an ox at plough, throwing the yoke off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frightened away all the attendants, on a sudden, as if he was tired, fell down at his feet, as he lay still upon his couch, and hung down his neck. A cypress-tree likewise, in a field belonging to the family, was torn up by the roots, and laid flat upon the ground, without any storm of wind to have occasioned it ; but next day it rose again fresher and stronger than before. He dreamt in Achaia, that the good fortune of himself and family should begin when Nero had a tooth drawn ; and it happened that the day after, a surgeon coming out of the *atrium* of the house where the emperor then lived, showed him

him a tooth which he had just then extracted from Nero. In Judæa, upon his consulting the oracle of Carmel, the answer was so encouraging as to assure him of success in any thing he projected, however great or important it might be. And when Josephus, one of the prisoners of quality, was put in chains, he confidently affirmed, that he should be released in a very short time by the same Vespasian, but he would be emperor first. Some presages likewise were brought in the news from Rome, that Nero, towards the close of his days, was commanded in a dream to carry Jupiter's holy chariot out of the sacred apartment where it stood, to Vespasian's house, and conduct it thence into the Circus. Not long after, as Galba was going to the election in which he was made a second time Consul, a statue of Julius Cæsar turned towards the East. And in the field of Bedriacum, before the battle began, two eagles engaged in the fight of the army; and one of them being beaten, a third came from the East, and drove away the conqueror.

VI. He made however no attempt upon the sovereignty, though his friends were very ready to support him, and even pressed him to the enterprize, until he was encouraged to it by the accidental favor of some persons unknown to him and at a distance. Two thousand men, drawn out of three legions in the Mœsian army, had been sent to the assistance of Otho. Whilst they were upon their march, news came that he had been defeated, and put an end to his own life; notwithstanding which they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending that they gave no credit to the report. There, tempted by the opportunity which the disorder of the times afforded them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion; until at length, fearing to be called to an account upon their

their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon choosing and setting up an emperor. "For they were no ways inferior," they said, "to the army that made Galba emperor, nor the Prætorian troops, which had put up Otho, nor those of Germany, which had done the same by Vitellius." The names of all the Consular lieutenants, therefore, being offered to consideration, and one rejecting one, and another another for various reasons, at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Mœsia, extolled Vespasian in high terms; and all the rest assenting, his name was immediately inscribed in their banners. The design however upon that occasion was quashed, the troops being brought to submit to Vitellius for a little time. But the incident being noised abroad, Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, upon the Calends of July, which was observed ever after as the day of his accession to the empire; and upon the fifth of the Ides of the same month, the army in Judæa, where he then was, took likewise the oath to his government. What contributed greatly to forward the affair, was a copy of a letter, whether real or counterfeit, which was circulated, said to be written by Otho to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most urgent terms the revenge of his cause, and entreating him to relieve the commonwealth; as also a rumor which was spread abroad, that Vitellius, after his success against Otho, proposed to change the winter-quarters of the legions, and remove those in Germany to a more secure and easy service in the East. Besides, amongst the governors of the provinces, Licinius Mucianus dropping the grudge which, from a spirit of emulation, he had hitherto evidently borne him,

him, promised to join him with the Syrian army; and Volugefus king of the Parthians offered forty thousand bowmen in fupport of his caufe.

VII. The civil war being therefore begun, fending before him his generals and forces into Italy, he in the mean time went over to Alexandria, to poffefs himfelf of the barriers of Egypt. Here having entered alone, without any attendants, the temple of Serapis, to take an aufpice about the future fettlement of his imperial authority, and having propitiated the deity with many facrifices, upon turning himfelf about, appeared his freedman Basilicus to prefent him with facred leaves, crowns and cakes, according to the ufage of the place. Immediately after this, arrived letters with advice, that Vitellius's troops had been defeated at Cremona, and he himfelf flain in the city. But Vefpafian, as being raifed unexpectedly from a low condition, wanted the authority and majefty of an emperor. This likewife he now received. A poor man who was blind, and another who was lame, came both together up to him, as he was fitting upon the bench in a court of juftice, begging of him a cure, which they faid they did by the admonition of the God Serapis in a dream, who affured them, that he might reftore one to his fight by fputting upon his eyes, and give ftrength to the leg of the other, if he vouchsafed but to touch it with his heel. He could fcarcely believe that fuch a method of cure would fucceed, and therefore durft not venture upon making the experiment. At laft, by the advice of his friends, he openly attempted both, and with fuccels*. About the fame time,

* This impofture bears ftrong marks of being founded upon the miracles of our Saviour, which Vefpafian muft have

time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the direction of some prophets, some vessels of ancient workmanship were dug out of a consecrated place, and amongst them a statue resembling Vespasian.

VIII. Returning now to Rome in great celebrity for the miraculous cures he had performed, after a triumph for the reduction of the Jews, he added eight Consulships to the former. He likewise took upon him the Censorship, and made it his principal concern, during the whole of his reign, to settle the commonwealth which had been almost ruined, and was in a tottering condition, upon a firm basis, in the first place, and then to improve it. The soldiers, one part of them emboldened by their victory, and the other from a concern at their disgrace, had abandoned themselves to every species of licentiousness and insolence. Nay the provinces too, with some free cities, and some kingdoms likewise under the Roman protection, were all in an uproar. He therefore disbanded many of Vitellius's soldiers, and others of them he punished; and so far was he from granting any extraordinary favors to the sharers of his victory, that it was late before he paid them their premiums due by law. That he might let slip no opportunity of reforming the discipline of the army, upon a young man's coming finely perfumed to return him thanks for a commission to command a squadron of horse, he turned away his head in disdain, and reprimanded him with this severe declaration, "I had rather you had smelt of garlic," and revoked his commission. The men belonging to the fleet, who ran by turns from Ostia

heard currently reported when he was in Judæa. It was a new stratagem to pave the way to empire, and, amongst a credulous people, superior to a thousand omens.

and Puteoli to Rome, petitioning for an addition to their pay, under the name of shoe-money, as if it would be but a small grievance to dismiss them without an answer, he ordered them for the future to run without shoes, and so they have done ever since. He divested of their liberty Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Samos, and reduced them into the form of provinces; doing the same by Thrace, Cilicia and Comagene, which until that time had been under the government of kings. He placed some legions in Cappadocia on account of the frequent inroads of the barbarians, and, instead of a Roman knight, appointed as governor of it a man of Consular rank. The city was much deformed by the rubbish of houses which had been burnt down long before: to remedy which, he gave leave to any one that would, to take possession of the void ground and build upon it, if the proprietors should hesitate to perform the work for themselves. He resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his hand to the clearing the ground of the rubbish, by carrying away some of it upon his own shoulder. And he undertook likewise to restore the three thousand brazen plates, which had been burnt at the same time, by searching in all places for copies of them, and thus again furnished the government with a collection of curious and ancient records, in which were contained the decrees of the Senate, almost from the building of the city; as also acts of the commons, relative to alliances, treaties, and privileges which had been granted to any person.

IX. He likewise erected several public buildings, as the temple of Peace near the Forum, that of Claudius on the Caelian mount, which had been begun by Agrippina, but almost entirely demolished by Nero. He built an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, upon finding that

Augustus

Augustus had projected such a work. He purged the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, which had been much reduced by the havoc made amongst them at several times, and disparaged by the undue admission, for a long time past, of such as were unworthy of that rank. Having expelled the most unworthy, he chose in their room the most honorable persons in Italy, and the provinces. And to let it be known, that those two Orders differed not so much in privileges as dignity, upon occasion of some altercation that passed between a Senator and a Roman knight, he declared publicly, "that Senators ought not to be treated with scurrilous language, unless they were the aggressors, and then it was fair and lawful to return it."

X. Law-suits had then accumulated to a prodigious number, partly from old litigations which, on account of the interruption that had been given to the course of justice, still remained undecided, and partly from the accession of a new mass, occasioned by the disorder of the times. He chose commissioners by lot to provide for the restitution of what had been seized by violence during the war, as also some extraordinary commissioners to judge of centumviral causes, and reduce them to as small a number as possible, for the dispatch of which otherwise, the lives of the parties concerned could scarcely allow sufficient time.

XI. Lust and luxury, from the impunity which had long prevailed, were grown to an enormous height. He therefore moved the Senate to decree, that a woman who had to do with the slave of another person, should herself become a slave; and that usurers should be allowed no action at law for the recovery of money lent to young men whilst they lived in their father's family, not even after their fathers were dead.

XII. In

XII. In the other parts of his adminiſtration, from the beginning to the end of his reign, he conducted himſelf with great moderation and clemency. He was ſo far from diſſembling with regard to the obſcurity of his extraction; that he frequently made mention of it himſelf. When ſome would affect to trace his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and the companion of Hercules, whoſe monument is ſtill to be ſeen in the Salarian way, he laughed at them for it. And he was ſo little fond of external and adventitious ornaments, that, upon the day of his triumph, being quite tired with the length and tediousneſs of the proceſſion, he could not forbear ſaying, “ he was rightly ſerved, for having in his old age been ſo ſilly as to deſire a triumph, as if it was either due to his anceſtors; or had ever been expected by himſelf.” Nor would he for a long time accept of the Tribunitian authority, or the title of Father of his Country. And in regard to the cuſtom of ſearching ſuch as came to pay their reſpects to him, he dropt it even in the time of the civil war:

XIII. He bore with great mildneſs the freedom uſed by his friends, the ſatirical alluſions of pleaders, and the petulance of philoſophers. Licinius Mutianus, who had been guilty of notorious acts of lewdneſs, but, preſuming upon his great ſervices, treated him very rudely, he re- proved only in private, and ſo as, in complaining of his behaviour to a common friend of theirs, he concluded with theſe words, “ However, I am a man.” Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cauſe of a rich man under proſecution, preſuming to ſay, “ What is it to Cæſar, if Hipparchus has an eſtate of a hundred millions of ſeſterces?” he commended him for it. Demetrius the Cynic philoſopher meeting him upon a journey, after he came to be emperor, and reſuſing to riſe up to him, or ſalute him,

nay, snarling at him in scurrilous language, he only called him a dog.

XIV. He never kept in mind affronts or quarrels, nor harbored any resentment of them. He married the daughter of his enemy Vitellius very nobly, and gave her, besides, a suitable fortune and equipage. Being in a great consternation after he was forbid the court by Nero, and asking those about him, what he should do? or, whither he should go? one of those whose office it was to introduce people to the emperor, thrusting him out, bid him go to Morbonia. But when this same person came afterwards to beg his pardon, he expressed his resentment only in almost the same words. For he was so far from being influenced by any suspicion or fear, to seek the destruction of any body, that, when his friends advised him to beware of Metius Pomposianus, because it was commonly believed that he was destined by his nativity to the empire, he made him Consul, engaging for him, that he would be mindful of the favor.

XV. It will scarcely be found, that so much as one innocent person suffered in his reign, unless in his absence, and without his knowledge, or at least contrary to his inclination, and when he was imposed upon. Though Helvidius Priscus was the only man that presumed to salute him at his return from Syria, by his private name of Vespasian, and, when he came to be Prætor, passed him by in his edicts, without the least respect or mention of him, yet he was not angry, until the latter proceeded to treat him with the most abusive language. Though he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and accordingly dispatched
away

away messengers to fetch back the persons who had been engaged for the execution ; and he would have saved him, had he not been imposed upon by a false account brought, that he was already executed. He never rejoiced at the death of any man ; nay would shed tears, and sigh, at the just punishment of the guilty.

XVI. The only thing deservedly blameable in his character was his love of money. For not satisfied with reviving the imposts which had been dropped under Galba, he imposed new taxes, burdensome to the subjects, augmented the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some. He likewise openly practised a sort of traffic, which would have been scandalous even in a person below the dignity of an emperor, buying great quantities of goods, for the purpose of retailing them again to advantage. Nay he made no scruple of selling the great offices of state to the candidates, and pardons likewise to persons under prosecution, as well the innocent as the guilty. It is believed, that he advanced all the most rapacious amongst the procurators to higher offices, with the view of squeezing them after they had acquired great riches. He was commonly said, “ to have made use of them as sponges,” because he did, as one may say, wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet. Some say that he was naturally extremely covetous, and that he was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperor’s refusing to enfranchise him gratis, which at his advancement he humbly petitioned for, cried out, “ That the fox changed his hair, but not his nature.” There are some, on the other hand, of opinion, that he was urged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme poverty of the treasury and exchequer, of which he publicly took notice in the beginning of his reign ; declaring

that "no less than forty thousand millions of sesterces was necessary for the support of the government." This is the more likely to be true of him, because he applied to the best purposes what he procured by bad means.

XVII. His liberality to all ranks of people was particularly eminent. He made up to several Senators the estate required by law to qualify them for that dignity; relieving likewise such men of Consular rank as were poor, with a yearly allowance of five hundred thousand sesterces; and rebuilt, in a better manner than before, several cities in different parts of the empire, which had been much damaged by earthquakes or fires.

XVIII. He was a great encourager of learning and learned men. He first appointed the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric the yearly stipend of a hundred thousand sesterces each out of the exchequer. He was likewise extremely generous to such as excelled in poetry, or even the mechanic arts, and particularly to one that brushed up the picture of Venus at Cos, and another who repaired the Colossus. A mechanic offering to convey some huge pillars into the Capitol at a small expence, he rewarded him very handsomely for his invention, but would not accept of his service, saying, "You must allow me to take care of the poor people."

XIX. In the games celebrated at the revival of the stage in Marcellus's theatre, he restored the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris the tragedian four hundred thousand sesterces; Terpnus and Diodorus the harpers two hundred thousand; to some a hundred thousand; and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides many golden crowns. He had
company

company constantly at his table, and entertained them in a plentiful manner, on purpose to help the shambles. As in the Saturnalia he made presents to the men at his table to carry away with them; so did he to the women upon the Calends of March; notwithstanding which he could not wipe off the infamy of his former covetousness. The Alexandrians called him constantly *Cybiosactes*; a name which had been given to one of their kings who was fordidly covetous. Nay, at his funeral, Favo the archmimic, representing his person, and imitating, as usual, his behaviour both in speech and gesture, asked aloud of the procurators, "how much his funeral pomp would cost?" And being answered "ten millions of sesterces," he cried out, that, "give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber, if they would."

XX. He was broad-set, strong-limbed, and had the countenance of a person who was straining. On this account, one of the buffoons at court, upon the emperor's desiring him "to say something merry upon him," facetiously answered, "I will, when you have done easing yourself." He enjoyed a good state of health, though he used no other means to preserve it, than rubbing his jaws and other parts of him a certain number of times in the tennis-court, and fasting one day in every month,

XXI. His method of life was commonly this. After he came to be emperor, he used to rise very early, often before day-break. Having read over his letters, and the breviaries of all the offices about court, he ordered his friends to be admitted; and whilst they were paying him their compliments, he would put on his shoes and dress himself. Then, after the dispatch of such business as was

brought before him, he rode out in his chaise or chair ; and, upon his return, laid himself down upon his couch to sleep, accompanied by some of his concubines, of whom he had taken a great number into his service upon the death of Cænis. After rising from his couch, he entered the bath, and then went to supper. They say he never was more easy or obliging than at that time ; and therefore those about him always seized that opportunity, when they had any favor to request of him.

XXII. At supper and at play, he was extremely free and jocular. For he had humor, but of a low kind, and would sometimes speak very indecently. Yet there are some things related of him not void of ingenious pleasantry ; amongst which are the following. Being told once by Mestrius Florus, that *plaustra* was more proper than *plostra*, he the next day saluted him by the name of Flaurus. A certain lady pretending to be desperately in love with him, he was prevailed upon to gratify her inclination ; after which he gave her four hundred thousand sesterces. And when his steward desired to know how he would have the sum put down in his accounts, he replied, “ For a lady’s being in love with Vespasian.”

XXIII. He used several Greek verses not unseasonably ; as of a certain tall man well furnished ;

Μακρὰ βίβας κραδῶν δολιχοσκιον ἐγχος.

Still shaking, as he strode, a vast long spear.

And of the freedman Cerylus, who being very rich, to elude the exchequer at his decease, had begun to pass himself upon the world as free-born, under the name of Laches, he made this remark ;

Ω Λαχης,

Ω Λαχης, Λαχης, επαν αποθανης,

Αυθις εξ υπαρχης ειρηση Κηρυλος.

Ah, Laches, Laches ! when thou art no more,

Thou'lt Cerylus be call'd, just as before.

He chiefly affected wit upon his own shameful means of raising money, to wipe off the odium by means of a little jocularitv. One of his ministers, who was much in his favor, requesting of him a stewardship for some person, under pretence of his being his brother, he put off the affair, but sent for the person who was the candidate, and having squeezed out of him as much money as he had agreed to give his solicitor, he appointed him immediately to the place. The minister soon after renewing his application, " You must," said he, " make a brother of some body else ; for he whom you took for yours, is really mine." Once upon a journey suspecting that his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mules, only to give time and opportunity to one that had a law-suit depending to speak to him, he asked him, " how much he had for shoeing ?" and would have a share of the profit. When his son Titus blamed him for the tax he had laid upon urine, he applied to his nose a piece of the money received in the first payment, and asked him, " if it stunk ?" And he replying no, " And yet," said he, " it comes from urine." Some deputies having come to acquaint him that a large statue, which would cost a vast sum, was ordered to be erected for him at the public charge, he bid them erect it immediately, showing them his hand hollowed, and saying, " there was a base ready for it." Nay when he was under the apprehensions and danger of death, he would not forbear his jests. For when, amongst other prodigies, the mausoleum of the Cæsars flew open on a sudden, and a blazing star appeared in the heavens ; one of the prodigies, he said, concerned Julia Calvina, who was of the family of Augustus ; and the other, the king of the Parthians, who

wore his hair long. And when his distemper first seized him, "I suppose," said he, "I am going to be a God."

XXIV. In his ninth Consulship, being seized in Campania with some slight indisposition, and immediately returning to town upon it, he soon after went thence for Cutiliæ, and the country about Reate, where he used every year to spend the summer. Here, though his distemper incommoded him much, and he had hurt his bowels by the use of cold water, he nevertheless attended to the dispatch of business, and would give audience to ambassadors in bed. At last being taken ill of a diarrhœa, to such a degree that he was ready to faint, he cried out, "An emperor ought to die standing." In endeavoring to rise, he died in the hands of those who were helping him up, upon the eighth of the Calends of July, being sixty-nine years, one month, and seven days old.

XXV. It is agreed amongst all, that he had such confidence in his own nativity and that of his sons, that, after several conspiracies against him, he told the Senate, that either his sons would succeed him, or no body. It is said likewise, that he once saw in a dream a balance in the middle of the porch of the palatine house exactly poised; in one scale of which stood Claudius and Nero, in the other, himself and his sons. The event corresponded to the symbol; for the reign of both parties was precisely of the same duration.

NEITHER consanguinity nor adoption, as formerly, but great influence in the army, having now become the patent road to the imperial throne, no person could claim a better

better title to that elevation than Titus Flavius Vespasian. He had not only served with great reputation in the wars both in Britain and Judæa, but seemed as yet untainted with any vice which could pervert his conduct in the civil administration of the empire. It appears, however, that he was prompted more by the persuasion of friends, than by his own ambition, to prosecute the attainment of the imperial dignity. To render this enterprize more successful, recourse was had to a new and peculiar artifice, which, while well accommodated to the superstitious credulity of the Romans, impressed them with an idea, that Vespasian's destiny to the throne was confirmed by supernatural indications. But, after his elevation, we hear no more of his miraculous achievements.

The prosecution of the war in Britain, which had been suspended for some years, was resumed by Vespasian; and he sent thither Petilius Cerealis, who by his bravery extended the limits of the Roman province. Under Julius Frontinus, successor to that general, the invaders continued to make farther progress in the reduction of the island: but the commander who finally established the dominion of the Romans in Britain, was Julius Agricola, not less distinguished for his military achievements, than for his prudent regard to the civil administration of the country. He began his operations with the conquest of North Wales, whence passing over into the island of Anglesey, which had revolted since the time of Suetonius, he again reduced it to subjection. Then proceeding northwards with his victorious army, he defeated the Britons in every engagement, took possession of all the territories in the southern parts of the island, and driving before him all who refused to submit to the Roman arms, penetrated even into the forests and mountains of Caledonia.

nia. He defeated the natives under Galgacus their leader, in a decisive battle; and fixing a line of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he secured the Roman province from the incursions of the people who occupied the parts of the island beyond that boundary. Wherever he established the Roman power, he introduced laws and civilization amongst the inhabitants, and employed every means of conciliating their affection, as well as of securing their obedience.

The war in Judæa, which had been commenced under the former reign, was continued in that of Vespasian; but he left the siege of Jerusalem to be conducted by his son Titus, who displayed great valor and military talents in the prosecution of the enterprize. After an obstinate defence by the Jews, that city, so much celebrated in the sacred writings, was finally demolished, and the glorious temple itself, the admiration of the world, reduced to ashes; contrary however to the will of Titus, who exerted his utmost efforts to extinguish the flames.

The manners of the Romans had now attained to an enormous pitch of depravity, through the unbounded licentiousness of the times; and, to the honor of Vespasian, he discovered great zeal in his endeavors to effect a national reformation. Vigilant, active and persevering, he was indefatigable in the management of public affairs, and rose in the winter before day-break, to give audience to his officers of state. But if we give credit to the whimsical imposition of a tax upon urine, we cannot entertain any high opinion, either of his talents as a financier, or of the resources of the Roman empire. By his encouragement of science, he displayed a liberality, of which there occurs no example under all the preceding emperors,
from

from the time of Augustus. Pliny the elder was now in the height of reputation, as well as in great favor with Vespasian ; and it was probably owing not a little to the advice of that minister, that the emperor showed himself so much the patron of literary men. A writer mentioned frequently by Pliny, and who lived in this reign, was Licinius Mucianus, a Roman knight : he treated of the history and geography of the eastern countries. Juvenal, who had begun his Satires several years before, continued to inveigh against the flagrant vices of the times ; but the only author whose writings we have to notice in the present reign, is a poet of a different class,

Flaccus has written a poem in eight books, on the Expedition of the Argonauts ; a subject which, next to the wars of Thebes and Troy, was in ancient times the most celebrated. Of the life of this au-
C. Valerius Flaccus.
 thor biographers have transmitted no particulars ; but we may place his birth in the reign of Tiberius, before all the writers who flourished in the Augustan age were extinct. He enjoyed the rays of the setting Sun which had illumined that glorious period, and he discovers the efforts of an ambition to recall its meridian splendor. As the poem was left incomplete by the death of the author, we can only judge imperfectly of the conduct and general consistency of the fable : but the most difficult part having been executed, without any room for the censure of candid criticism, we may presume that the sequel would have been finished with an equal claim to indulgence, if not to applause. The traditional anecdotes relative to the Argonautic expedition are introduced with propriety, and embellished with the graces of poetical fiction. In describing scenes of tenderness, this author is happily pathetic, and in the heat of combat, proportionably

ably animated. His similes present the imagination with beautiful imagery, and not only illustrate, but give additional force to the subject. We find in Flaccus a few expressions not countenanced by the authority of the most celebrated Latin writers. His language, however, in general, is pure; but his words are perhaps not always the best that might have been chosen. The versification is elevated, though not uniformly harmonious; and there pervades the whole poem an epic dignity, which renders it superior to the production ascribed to Orpheus, or to that of Apollonius, on the same subject.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

I. **TITUS**, who had the same cognomen with his father, was the darling and delight of mankind, (so much did he possess of happy endowments, address, or good fortune, to conciliate the favor of all ; and what is extremely difficult indeed, after he came to be emperor : for before that period, even during the reign of his father, he lay under the displeasure and censure of the public.) He was born upon the third of the Calends of January, in the year remarkable for the death of Caius, near the Septizonium, in a mean house, and a small dark chamber : for it still exists, and is shown to the curious.

II. He was educated at court with Britannicus, instructed in the same parts of literature, and under the same masters with him. During this time, they say, that a physiognomist being brought by Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, to inspect Britannicus, positively affirmed that he would never come to be emperor, but that Titus, who stood by, would. They were so familiar, that Titus being next him at table, is thought to have tasted of the fatal potion which put an end to Britannicus's life, and to have contracted from it a distemper which remained with him a long time. The remembrance of all these circumstances being fresh in his mind, he erected a golden statue of him in the palace, dedicated to him an-

other on horseback, of ivory, and attended it in the Cirtensian procession, in which it is still carried to this day.

III. He was, when a boy, remarkable for fine accomplishments both of body and mind; and as he advanced in years, they became still more conspicuous. He had a graceful person, combining an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness; was very strong, though not tall, and somewhat big-bellied. He was endowed with an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war; was a perfect master in the use of arms, and in riding the great horse; very ready in the Latin and Greek tongues, as well in verse as prose; and such was the facility he possessed in both, that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor was he unacquainted with music, but would both sing and play upon the harp very finely, and with judgement. I have likewise been informed by many, that he was remarkably quick in the writing of short-hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hands he saw, and often say, "that he was admirably qualified for forgery."

IV. In the quality of a military Tribune both in Germany and Britain, he conducted himself with the utmost activity, and no less modesty and reputation; as appears evident from the great number of statues with honorable inscriptions, erected for him in various parts of both those provinces. After some campaigns he applied himself to the business of pleading, but with less assiduity than applause. About the same time he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only a knight, but had formerly been commander of the guards, and, after her decease, Marcia Furnilla, of a very noble family, by whom he had a daughter, but afterwards divorced her.

Upon

Upon the expiration of his Quæstorship, he was made commander of a legion, and took the two strong cities of Tarichæa and Gamala in Judæa; and in a battle having his horse slain under him, he mounted another, whose rider he was engaged with, and killed.

V. Soon after, when Galba came to be emperor, he was dispatched away to congratulate him upon the occasion, and turned the eyes of all people upon him, wherever he came, it being the general opinion amongst them, that the emperor had sent for him with a design to adopt him for his son. But finding all things again in confusion, he turned back upon the road; and going to consult the oracle of Venus at Paphos about his voyage, he received assurances of obtaining the empire for himself. In this prediction he was soon after confirmed; and being left to finish the reduction of Judæa, in the last assault upon Jerusalem, he slew seven of the men that defended it, with just so many arrows, and took it upon his daughter's birth-day. Upon this occasion, the soldiers expressed so much joy and fondness for him, that, in their congratulation of him, they unanimously saluted him by the title of Emperor; and, upon his quitting the province soon after, would needs have detained him, earnestly begging of him, and that not without threats, "either to stay, or take them all with him." This incident gave rise to a suspicion of his being engaged in a design to rebel against his father, and claim for himself the government of the East; and the suspicion increased, when, in his way to Alexandria, he wore a diadem at the consecration of the ox Apis at Memphis; which though he did only in compliance with an ancient religious usage of the country, yet there were some who put a bad construction upon it. Making therefore what

haste he could into Italy, he arrived first at Rhegium, and sailing thence in a merchant ship to Puteoli, went to Rome with all possible expedition. Presenting himself unexpectedly to his father, he said, by way of reflection upon the rashness of the reports raised against him, "I am come, father, I am come."

VI. From that time he constantly acted as partner with his father in the government, and indeed the guardian of it. He triumphed with his father, bore jointly with him the office of Censor; and was, besides, his colleague not only in the Tribunitian authority, but seven Consulships. Taking upon himself the care and inspection of all offices, he dictated letters, wrote proclamations in his father's name, and pronounced his speeches in the Senate, in room of the Quæstor. He likewise took upon him the command of the guard, which before that time had never been held by any but a Roman knight, and behaved with great haughtiness and violence, taking off without scruple or delay all those of whom he was most jealous, after he had secretly engaged people to disperse themselves in the theatres and camp, and demand them as it were by general consent to be delivered up to punishment. Amongst these he invited to supper A. Cæcina, a man of Consular rank, whom he ordered to be stabbed at his departure, immediately after he had got out of the room. To this act he was provoked by an imminent danger: for he had discovered a writing under the hand of Cæcina, containing an account of a plot carried on amongst the soldiery. By this means, though he provided indeed for the future security of his family, yet for the present he so much incurred the hatred of the people, that scarcely ever any one came to the empire with a more odious character, or more universally disliked.

VII. Besides

VII. Besides his cruelty, he lay under the suspicion of luxury, because he would continue his revels until midnight with the most riotous of his acquaintance. Nor was he less suspected of excessive lewdness, because of the swarms of catamites and eunuchs about him, and his well-known intrigue with queen Beronice, to whom he was likewise reported to have promised marriage. He was supposed, besides, to be of a rapacious disposition: for it is certain, that, in causes which came before his father, he used to offer his interest to sale, and take bribes. In short, people openly declared an unfavorable opinion of him, and said he would prove another Nero. This prejudice however turned out in the end to his advantage, and enhanced his praises not a little, because he was found to possess no vicious propensities, but on the contrary the noblest virtues. His entertainments were pleasant rather than extravagant; and he chose such a set of friends, as the following princes acquiesced in as necessary for them and the government. He sent away Beronice from the city immediately, much against both their inclinations. Some of his old catamites, though such adepts in dancing, that they bore an uncontrollable sway upon the stage, he was so far from treating with any extraordinary kindness, that he would not so much as see them in any public assembly of the people. He violated no private property; and if ever man refrained from injustice, he did; nay he would not accept of the allowable and customary contributions. Yet he was inferior to none of the princes before him, in point of generosity. Having opened his amphitheatre, and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with a most magnificent public diversion. He likewise exhibited a naval-fight in the old Naumachia, besides a combat of gladiators; and in one day brought into the theatre five thousand wild beasts of all kinds.

VIII. He was by nature extremely benevolent. For whereas the emperors after Tiberius, according to the example he had set them, would not admit the grants made by former princes to be valid, unless they received their own sanction, he confirmed them all by one general proclamation, without waiting until he should be addressed upon the subject. Of all who expressed a desire of any favor, it was his constant practice to send none away without hopes. And when his ministers insinuated to him, as if he promised more than he could perform, he replied, "Nobody ought to go away sad from an audience of his prince." Once at supper, reflecting that he had done nothing for any that day, he broke out into that memorable and justly admired saying, "Friends, I have lost a day." He treated in particular the whole body of the people upon all occasions with so much complaisance, that, upon promising them an entertainment of gladiators, he declared, "He should manage it, not according to his own fancy, but that of the spectators," and did accordingly. He denied them nothing, and very frankly encouraged them to ask what they pleased. Being a favorer of the gladiators called *Thraces*, he would, as such, frequently indulge a freedom with the people both in his words and gestures, but always without the least violation either of his imperial dignity or justice. To omit no occasion of acquiring popularity, he would let the common people be admitted into his bath, even when he made use of it himself. There happened in his reign some dreadful accidents, as an eruption of mount Vesuvius in Campania, and a fire in Rome which continued during three days and three nights, besides a plague, such as was scarcely ever known before. Amidst these dismal calamities, he not only discovered all the concern that might be expected from a prince,

prince, but a paternal affection for his people ; one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while assisting them as much as was in his power. He chose by lot, from amongst the men of Consular rank, commissioners for the relief of Campania. The estates of those who had perished by the eruption of Vesuvius, and who had left no heirs, he applied to the repair of such cities as had been damaged by that accident. In respect of the public buildings destroyed in the fire of the city, he declared that nobody should be a loser by them but himself. Accordingly, he applied all the ornaments of his palaces to the decoration of the temples, and purposes of public utility, and appointed several men of the Equestrian Order to superintend the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed, in the way of sacrifice and medicine, all means both human and divine. Amongst the calamities of the times, were informers, and those who employed them ; a tribe of miscreants who had grown up under the licence of former reigns. These he frequently ordered to be lashed or well cudgelled in the Forum, and then, after he had obliged them to pass through the amphitheatre as a public spectacle, commanded them to be sold for slaves, or else banished them into some rocky islands. And to discourage the like practices for the future, amongst other things, he forbid any one to be proceeded against upon several laws for the same fact, and that the condition of persons deceased should, after a certain number of years, be exempt from all enquiry.

IX. Having avowed that he accepted the office of high-priest for the purpose of preserving his hands undefiled, he faithfully adhered to his promise. For after that time he was neither directly nor indirectly concerned

in the death of any person, though he sometimes was sufficiently provoked. He swore "that he would perish himself, rather than prove the destruction of any man." Two men of Patrician quality being convicted of aspiring to the empire, he only advised them to desist, saying, "that sovereign power was disposed of by fate," and promised them, that, if they had any thing else to desire of him, he would gratify them. Upon this incident, he immediately sent messengers to the mother of one of them, that was at a great distance, and concerned about her son, to satisfy her that he was safe. Nay he not only invited them to sup with him, but next day, at a show of gladiators, purposely placed them close by him; and when the arms of the combatants were presented to him, he handed them to the two associates. It is said likewise, that upon being informed of their nativities, he assured them, "that some great calamity would some time befall them, but from another hand, not his." Though his brother was perpetually plotting against him, almost openly spiriting up the armies to rebellion, and contriving to leave the court with the view of putting himself at their head; yet he could not endure to put him to death. So far was he from entertaining such a sentiment, that he would not so much as banish him the court, nor treat him with less respect than before. But from his first accession to the empire, he constantly declared him his partner in it, and that he should be his successor; begging of him sometimes in private with tears, "to make him a return of the like affection."

X. Meanwhile he was taken off by an untimely death, more to the loss of mankind than himself. At the close of the public diversions with which he entertained the people, he wept bitterly before them all, and then went
away

away for the country of the Sabines, very melancholy, because a victim, when about to be sacrificed, had made its escape, and loud thunder had been heard during a serene state of the atmosphere. At the first stage on the road, he was seized with a fever, and being carried thence in a sedan, they say that he put by the curtains, and looked up to heaven, complaining heavily, "that his life was taken from him, though he had done nothing to deserve it: for there was no action of his that he had occasion to repent of, but one." What that was, he neither intimated himself, nor is it easy for any to conjecture. Some imagine that he alluded to the unlawful familiarity which he had formerly had with his brother's wife. But Domitia solemnly denied it with an oath; which she would never have done, had there been any truth in the report; nay, she would certainly have boasted of it, as she was forward enough to do in regard to all her shameful intrigues.

XI. He died in the same villa where his father had done before him, upon the Ides of September; two years, two months and twenty days after he had succeeded his father; and in the one and fortieth year of his age. As soon as the news of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relation. The Senate, before they could be summoned by proclamation, drew together, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises, now he was dead, as they never had done whilst he was alive and present amongst them.

TITUS Flavius Vespasian, the Younger, was the first prince who ascended the Roman throne by hereditary succession; and having constantly acted, after his return from Judæa, as partner with his father in the administration, he seemed to be well qualified, in point of abilities and experience, for conducting the affairs of the empire. But in respect of his natural disposition, and moral behaviour, the expectations entertained by the public were not equally flattering. He was immoderately addicted to luxury; he had betrayed a strong inclination to cruelty; and he lived in the habitual practice of lewdness, no less unnatural than intemperate. But, with a degree of virtuous resolution unexampled in history, he had no sooner taken into his hands the entire reins of government, than he renounced every vicious attachment. Instead of wallowing in luxury, as before, he became a model of temperance; instead of cruelty, he displayed the strongest proofs of humanity and benevolence; and in the room of lewdness, he exhibited a transition to the most unblemished chastity and virtue. In a word, so sudden and great a change was never known in the character of mortal; and he had the peculiar glory to receive the appellation of “the darling and delight of mankind.”

Under a prince of such a disposition, the government of the empire could not but be conducted with the strictest regard to the public welfare. The reform, which was begun in the late reign, he prosecuted with the most ardent application; and, had he lived for a longer time, it is probable that his authority and example must have produced the most beneficial effects upon the manners of the Romans.

During

During the reign of this emperor, in the seventy-ninth year of the Christian æra, happened the first eruption of mount Vesuvius, which has ever since been celebrated for its volcano. Before this time, Vesuvius is spoken of, by ancient writers, as being covered with orchards and vineyards, and of which the middle was dry and barren. The eruption was accompanied by an earthquake, which destroyed several cities of Campania, particularly Pompeii and Herculaneum; while the lava, pouring down the mountain in torrents, overwhelmed, in various directions, the adjacent plains. The burning ashes were carried not only over the neighbouring country, but as far as the shores of Egypt, Libya, and even Syria. Amongst those to whom this dreadful eruption proved fatal, was Pliny, the celebrated naturalist, whose curiosity to examine the phænomenon led him so far within the verge of danger, that he could not afterwards escape.

Pliny, surnamed the Elder, was born at Verona, of a noble family. He distinguished himself early by his military achievements in the German war, received the dignity of an Augur, at Rome, and was afterwards appointed governor of

*C. Plinius
Secundus.*

Spain. In every public character, he acquitted himself with great reputation, and enjoyed the esteem of the several emperors under whom he lived. The assiduity with which he applied himself to the collecting of information, either curious or useful, surpasses all example. From an early hour in the morning, until late at night, he was almost constantly employed in discharging the duties of his public station, in reading or hearing books read by his amanuensis, and in extracting from them whatever seemed worthy of notice. Even during his meals, and while travelling in his carriage upon business,

he prosecuted with unremitting zeal and diligence his taste for enquiry and compilation. No man ever displayed so strong a persuasion of the value of time, or availed himself so industriously of it. He considered every moment as lost which was not employed in literary pursuits. The books which he wrote, in consequence of this indefatigable exertion, were, according to the account transmitted by his nephew, Pliny the Younger, numerous, and on various subjects. The catalogue of them is as follows: a book on Equestrian Archery, which discovered much skill in the art; the Life of Q. Pomponius Secundus; twenty books of the Wars of Germany; a complete treatise on the Education of an Orator, in six volumes; eight books of Doubtful Discourses, written in the latter part of the reign of Nero, when every kind of sentimental discussion was attended with danger; with a hundred and sixty volumes of remarks on the writings of the various authors which he had perused. For the last mentioned production only, and before it was brought near to its accomplishment, we are told, that he was offered by Largius Licinius, four hundred thousand sesterces, amounting to upwards of three thousand two hundred pounds sterling; an enormous sum for the copyright of a book before the invention of printing! But the only surviving work of this voluminous author is his Natural History, in thirty-seven books, compiled from the various writers who had treated of that extensive and interesting subject.

To estimate this great work either by the authenticity of the information which it contains, or its utility towards the advancement of arts and sciences, we should not now consider it as an object of any extraordinary encomiums; but when we view it as a literary monument,

ment, which displays the whole knowledge of the ancients, relative to Natural History, collected during a period of about seven hundred years, from the time of Thales the Milefian, it has a just claim to the attention of every speculative enquirer. It is not surprising, that the progress of the human mind, which, after the first dawn of enquiry, was rapid both amongst the Greeks and Romans, in moral science, should be slow in the improvement of such branches of knowledge as depended entirely on observation and facts, which were peculiarly difficult of attainment. Natural knowledge can only be brought to perfection by the prosecution of enquiries in different climates, and by a communication of discoveries amongst those by whom it is cultivated. But neither could enquiries be prosecuted, nor discoveries communicated, with success, while the greater part of the world was involved in barbarism, while navigation was slow and limited, and the art of printing unknown. The consideration of these circumstances will afford sufficient apology for the imperfect state in which the science of Physics, and Natural History, existed amongst the ancients. But we proceed to give an abstract of their extent, as they appear in the compilation of Pliny.

This work is divided into thirty-seven books; the first of which contains the Preface, addressed to the emperor Vespasian, probably the father, to whom the author pays high compliments. The second book treats of the world, the elements, and the stars. In respect to the world, or rather the universe, the author's opinion is the same with that of several ancient philosophers, that it is a Deity, uncreated, infinite, and eternal. Their notions, however, as might be expected, on a subject so incomprehensible,

incomprehensible, are vague, confused, and imperfect. In a subsequent chapter of the same book, where the nature of the Deity is more particularly considered, the author's conceptions of infinite power are so inadequate, that, by way of consolation for the limited powers of man, he observes that there are many things even beyond the power of the Supreme Being; such, for instance, as the annihilation of his own existence; to which the author adds, the power of rendering mortals eternal, and of raising the dead. It deserves to be remarked, that, though a future state of rewards and punishments was maintained by the most eminent among the ancient philosophers, the resurrection of the body was a doctrine with which they were wholly unacquainted.

The author next treats of the planets, and the periods of their respective revolutions; of the stars, comets, winds, thunder, lightning, and other natural phenomena; concerning all which he delivers the hypothetical notions maintained by the ancients, and mentions a variety of extraordinary incidents which had occurred in different parts of the world. The third book contains a general system of ancient geography, which is continued through the fourth, fifth, and sixth books. The seventh treats of conception, and the generation of the human species, with a number of miscellaneous observations, unconnected with the general subject. The eighth treats of quadrupeds; the ninth, of aquatic animals; the tenth, of birds; the eleventh, of insects and reptiles; the twelfth, of trees; the thirteenth, of ointments, and of trees which grow near the sea-coast; the fourteenth, of vines; the fifteenth, of fruit-trees; the sixteenth, of forest-trees; the seventeenth, of the cultivation of trees; the eighteenth, of agriculture; the nineteenth,

teenth, of the nature of lint, hemp, and similar productions; the twentieth, of the medicinal qualities of vegetables cultivated in gardens; the twenty-first, of flowers; the twenty-second, of the properties of herbs; the twenty-third, of the medicines yielded by cultivated trees; the twenty-fourth, of medicines derived from forest-trees; the twenty-fifth, of the properties of wild herbs, and the origin of their use; the twenty-sixth, of other remedies for diseases, and of some new diseases; the twenty-seventh, of different kinds of herbs; the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth, of medicines procured from animals; the thirty-first, and thirty-second, of medicines obtained from aquatic animals, with some extraordinary facts relative to the subject; the thirty-third, of the nature of metals; the thirty-fourth, of brass, iron, lead, and tin; the thirty-fifth, of pictures, and observations relative to painting; the thirty-sixth, of the nature of stones and marbles; the thirty-seventh, of the origin of gems. To the contents of each book, the author subjoins a list of the writers from whom his observations have been collected.

Of Pliny's talents as a writer, it might be deemed presumptuous to form a decided opinion from his *Natural History*, which is avowedly a compilation from various authors, and executed with greater regard to the matter of the work, than to the elegance of composition. Abstracting, however, from a degree of credulity, common to the human mind in the early stage of physical researches, he is far from being deficient in the essential qualifications of a writer of *Natural History*. His descriptions appear to be accurate, his observations precise, his narrative in general perspicuous; and he often illustrates his subject by a vivacity of thought, as

well as a happiness of expression. It has been equally his endeavor to give novelty to stale disquisitions, and authority to new observations. He has both removed the rust, and dispelled the obscurity, which enveloped the doctrines of many ancient naturalists; but, with all his care and industry, he has exploded fewer errors, and sanctioned a greater number of doubtful opinions, than was consistent with the exercise of unprejudiced and severe investigation.

Pliny was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death; the manner of which is accurately related by his nephew, the elegant Pliny the Younger, in a letter to Tacitus, who entertained a design of writing the life of the naturalist.

TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

I. DOMITIAN was born upon the ninth of the Calends of November, when his father was Consul elect, being to enter upon his office the month following, in the sixth ward of the city, at the Pomegranate, in the house which he afterwards converted into a temple of the Flavian family. He is said to have spent the time of his youth in so much want and infamy, that he had not one piece of plate belonging to him. And it is well known, that Clodius Pollio, a man of Prætorian rank, against whom there is a poem of Nero's extant, entitled *Luscio*, kept a note under his hand, which he sometimes produced, in which Domitian promised him an assassination. Some likewise have said, that he was catamite to Nerva who succeeded him. In Vitellius's war, he fled into the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus, and a part of the troops which they then had in town. But the enemy breaking in, and the temple being set on fire, he hid himself all night with the keeper of the temple; and next morning, assuming the disguise of a worshipper of Isis, and mixing with the priests of that idle superstition, he got over the Tiber, to the house of a woman, the mother of a young man who had formerly been his school-fellow, with only one attendant, and concealed himself there so close, that, though the enemy, who were at his heels, searched the house very strictly, they could

not

not find him. At last, after the success of his party, appearing in public, and being unanimously saluted by the title of Cæsar, he took upon him the office of City-Prætor with Consular authority, but in effect had nothing but the name; for the jurisdiction of the place he transferred to his next colleague. He domineered, however, upon the occasion, in so licentious a manner, that he even then sufficiently discovered what sort of a prince he was likely to prove. After he had made free with the wives of many men of distinction, he took Domitia Longina from her husband Ælius Lamia, and married her; and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in the city and the provinces together; upon which Vespasian said several times, "he wondered he did not send him a successor too."

II. He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends; and this he did only with the view of equalling his brother in military achievements and glory. But being severely reprimanded for it, that he might the more effectually be kept to a sense of his age and condition, he lived with his father, and followed his and his brother's chair, as often as they went abroad, in a litter; attending them in their triumph for the reduction of Judæa, mounted upon a white horse. Of the six Consulships which he held, only one was ordinary; and that he obtained by the cession and interest of his brother. He affected greatly a modest behaviour, and above all a taste for poetry; insomuch that he rehearsed his performances of that kind in public, though it was an art which had formerly been as little practised, as it was afterwards despised and rejected by him. Devoted however as he was at this time to
poetical

poetical pursuits, yet when Vologesus king of the Parthians desired succours against the Alani, and one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he labored hard to procure for himself that appointment. But the execution of that project soon becoming unnecessary, he attempted to engage by presents and promises other kings of the East to make the like request. After the death of his father, he was for some time in doubt with himself, whether he should not offer the soldiery a donative double to that of his brother, and made no scruple to say frequently, "that he had been left his partner in the empire, but that a fraud had been practised with regard to his father's will." From that time forward, he was continually forming designs against his brother as well publicly as privately, until, upon his falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendants to leave him, under pretence of his being dead, before he really was so; and, at his decease, paid no other honor to his memory, than that of enrolling him amongst the Gods; notwithstanding which, he would often, both in his speeches and edicts, traduce his memory by invidious and unfavorable allusions.

III. In the beginning of his reign, he used to spend daily an hour by himself in private, during which time he was wholly employed in the catching of flies, and sticking them through the body with a bodkin. When somebody therefore enquired, "whether any one was with the emperor," it was significantly answered by Vibius Crispus, "Not so much as a fly." Soon after his advancement, his wife Domitia, by whom he had a son in his second Consulship, and whom the year following he complimented with the title of Augusta, being desperately in love with the player Paris, he divorced her; but in a short time after, being unable to bear the separation,

separation, he took her again, under pretence of complying with the people's importunity in her favor. During some time, there was in his administration a strange mixture of virtue and vice, until at last his virtues themselves degenerated into vices; being, as we may reasonably conjecture respecting the nature of his disposition, inclined to avarice through want, and to cruelty through motives of fear.

IV. He frequently entertained the people with most magnificent and costly shows, not only in the Amphitheatre, but the Circus; where, besides the usual races with chariots drawn by two or four horses a-breast, he exhibited the representation of an engagement betwixt both horse and foot, and a sea-fight in the Amphitheatre. The people were also entertained with the chase of wild beasts and the combats of gladiators, even in the night-time, by the light of lamps. Nor did men only fight upon those occasions, but women too. He constantly attended at the games given by the Quæstors, which had been disused for some time, but were revived by himself; and upon those occasions, always gave the people the liberty of demanding two pairs of gladiators out of his own school, who came last in the court-livery. During his attendance upon this diversion, there stood at his feet a little boy in scarlet, with a monstrous small head, with whom he used to talk very much, and sometimes gravely too. It is certain, that he was overheard asking him, "if he knew for what reason he had in the late promotion of public officers, made Mettius Rufus governor of Egypt." He presented the people with naval fights, performed by fleets almost as numerous as what are usually employed in real engagements; making a vast lake near the Tiber, and building it round with seats for

the purpose. And he attended in person at the diversion, during a very rainy season. He likewise celebrated the Secular Games, reckoning not from the year in which they had been exhibited by Claudius; but from the time of Augustus's celebration of them. In these, upon the day of the Circensian diversions, to have a hundred races performed, he reduced each from seven rounds to five. He likewise instituted, in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music to be performed every five years; besides horse-racing and the exercises of the Gymnasium, with more prizes than are at present allowed. Nay there was likewise a public performance in eloquence, both Greek and Latin; and besides the harpers who sung to that instrument, others who played in concert, or single, without using their voice. Virgins also ran races in the Stadium, at which he presided in his *Crepidæ*, dressed in scarlet after the Grecian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown with the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with the priest of Jupiter, and the whole company of those appointed for the Flavian family, sitting by him in the like dress; excepting only that their crowns had his picture likewise upon them. He celebrated also upon the Alban mount every year the festival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of priests, out of which were chosen by lot persons to preside as governors over the college; who were obliged to entertain the people with extraordinary chases of wild-beasts, and stage-plays, besides contests for prizes in oratory and poetry. He thrice bestowed upon the people a largess of three hundred sesterces each man; and, at a public diversion of gladiators, a very plentiful feast. At the Septimontial festival, distributing large baskets of provisions to the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, he encouraged them to eat by setting them an example. The day after, for the purpose

of scrambling, he dispersed a variety of cakes and other delicacies amongst the people; and because the greater part of them fell into the seats of the commonalty, he ordered five hundred tickets to be thrown into each range of seats belonging to the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders.

V. He likewise rebuilt many noble edifices that had been destroyed by fire, and amongst them the Capitol, which had been burnt down a second time; but all in his own name; and without the least mention of the original founders. He likewise erected a new temple in the Capitol to Jupiter Custos, and a Forum, which is now called Nerva's, as also the temple of the Flavian family, a Stadium*, an Odeum†, and Naumachia‡; out of the stone of which the sides of the great Circus being burnt down were rebuilt.

VI. He undertook some expeditions, partly from choice, and partly from necessity. The expedition against the Catti was voluntary, but that against the Sarmatians was otherwise; an entire legion, with a lieutenant-general, having been cut off by that people. He made two expeditions against the Dacians; the former upon the overthrow of Oppius Sabinus, a man of Consular rank, by them; and the other, upon that of Cornelius Fuscus commander of the Prætorian battalions, to whom he had

* A place nearly in the form of a Circus, for the running of men and horses.

† A building, where musicians and actors rehearsed, or privately exercised themselves, before their appearing upon the stage.

‡ A place for exhibiting naval engagements, built nearly in the form of a Circus.

committed

committed the management of that war. After several battles with the Catti and Daci, he had, for his success against them, two triumphs. But for his achievements against the Sarmatians, he only made an offering of a laurel crown to Jupiter Capitolinus. The civil war, begun by L. Antonius governor of Upper Germany, he quelled, without being obliged to be personally present at it, with remarkable good fortune. For at the time of the engagement, the Rhine suddenly breaking its banks, put a stop to the troops of the barbarians which were ready to go over to Antony. Of this victory he had notice by some presages, before the messengers who carried the news of it arrived. For upon the very day the battle was fought, a large eagle, spreading its wings round his statue at Rome, made a most joyful noise over it. And shortly after, a rumor became common, that Antony was slain; nay many positively affirmed, that they saw his head brought to the city.

VII. He made many innovations in the public usage of his country. He abolished the Sportula, and revived the old practice of formal suppers. To the four former parties in the Circensian games, he added two new, in gold and scarlet. He prohibited the players from acting in the theatre, but permitted them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbid the castration of males; and reduced the prices of eunuchs who were left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. Upon the occasion of a great plenty of wine, but a scarcity of corn, supposing the tillage of the ground was neglected on account of too great application to the cultivating of vineyards, he published a proclamation forbidding the planting of any new vines in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, no where permitting more than

one half of them to remain. But he did not persist in the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices about court he conferred upon his freedmen and soldiers. He forbid two legions any where to encamp together, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier at the standard; because it was thought that L. Antonius had been encouraged in his late rebellious design, by the large sum deposited in the military chest, by the two legions which he had in the same military-quarters. He made an addition to the soldiers' pay, of three gold pieces a year.

VIII. In the administration of justice he was diligent and assiduous; and frequently sat in the Forum out of course; to cancel the judgements of the Centumviral court, which had been procured through favor or interest. He now and then cautioned the judges called Recoverers, to beware of being too easy in favor of claims for liberty brought before them. He set a mark of infamy upon judges who were convicted of taking bribes, as well as their assessors. He likewise instigated the Tribunes of the commons to prosecute a corrupt Ædile for extortion, and to desire from the Senate judges for his trial. He likewise took such effectual care in punishing the city-magistrates, and governors of provinces, guilty of mal-administration, that they never were at any other time more modest or more just. Most of these, since his reign, we have seen prosecuted for crimes of various kinds. Having taken upon himself the reformation of the public manners, he restrained the licence of the populace in sitting promiscuously with the knights in the theatre. Scandalous libels, published to defame persons of rank, of either sex, he suppressed, and inflicted upon their authors a mark of infamy. He turned a man of Quæstorian

torian rank out of the Senate, for the practice of mimicry and dancing. He debarred infamous women the use of the sedan ; as also the right of receiving legacies, or inheriting estates. He struck out of the list of judges a Roman knight for taking again his wife whom he had divorced, and prosecuted for adultery. He condemned several men of the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, upon the Scantinian law. The lewdness of the Vestal Virgins, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished differently and severely ; viz. offences committed before his reign, with death, and those since its commencement, according to ancient custom. For to the sisters called Ocellatæ he gave liberty to choose the mode of death which they preferred, and banished their paramours. But Cornelia, the eldest of the Vestals, who had formerly been acquitted upon a charge of incontinence, being a long time after again prosecuted and condemned, he ordered to be buried alive ; and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the Comitium, excepting only a man of Prætorian rank, to whom, because he confessed the fact, whilst his cause was dubious, and the truth of the case not ascertained against him, though the evidences had been put to the torture, he granted the favor of banishment. And to preserve the religious respect due to the Gods pure and undefiled, he ordered the soldiers to demolish a monument, which a freedman of his had erected for his son, out of the stones designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and sunk the bones and relics buried under it in the sea.

IX. Upon the first advancement of the family, he felt such an abhorrence for the shedding of blood, that, before his father's arrival in Rome, calling to mind the verse of Virgil,

Impia quam cæcis gens est epulata juvenis,
 Ere impious man, restrain'd from blood in vain,
 Began to feast on flesh of bullocks slain,

he designed to have published a proclamation, "to forbid the sacrifice of oxen." Before his advancement to the empire, and during some time after it, he scarcely ever gave the least occasion to suspect him of covetousness or avarice; nay, on the contrary, he often gave proofs, not only of his justice, but generosity. To all about him, he was liberal even to profusion, and recommended nothing more earnestly to them than the avoiding of sordid behaviour. He would not accept of the estates left him by such as had children. He likewise set aside a legacy left by the will of Rufus Cæpio, who had ordered "his heir to make a present yearly to every Senator upon their first assembling." He discharged all those who had been under a prosecution from the treasury for above five years before, and would not suffer the suits to be renewed against them, unless it was done within a year after, and upon the condition, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries attending the *Quæstors* trading according to custom, but contrary to the *Clodian* law, he pardoned for their past behaviour. Such portions of land as had been left upon any partition made amongst the veteran soldiers, he granted to the ancient possessors, as belonging to them by prescription. He put a stop to false prosecutions in the exchequer, by severely punishing the prosecutors; and this saying of his was much taken notice of: "that a prince who does not punish such as make a practice of informing, encourages them."

X. But he persevered not long in this course of clemency and justice, yet sooner abandoned himself to the practice of cruelty than avarice. He put to death a disciple of Paris the pantomimic, though a minor, and then sick, only because, both in person and the practice of his art, he resembled his master; as he did likewise Hermogenes of Tarsus for some oblique reflections in his history; crucifying, besides, the scribes who had copied the work. One that was master of a family happening to say, "that a Thrax was a match for a Mirmillo, but not so for the exhibitor of the games," he ordered him to be dragged out of his seat into the theatre, and exposed to the dogs, with this label upon him, "A Parmularian guilty of talking impiously." He put to death many Senators, and amongst them several men of Consular rank. In this number were, *Civica Cerealis*, when he was Pro-Consul in Africa, *Salvidienus Orfitus*, and *Acilius Glabrio* in exile, under pretence of their designing an insurrection against him. The rest he punished upon very trivial occasions; as *Ælius Lamia* for some jocular expressions, which were of old date, and perfectly harmless; because, upon his commending his voice after he had taken his wife from him, he replied, "Alas! I hold my tongue." And when Titus advised him to take another wife, he answered him thus, "What! have you a mind to marry?" *Salvius Cocceianus* was condemned to death for keeping the birth-day of his uncle *Otho* the emperor: *Metius Pomposianus*, because he was commonly reported to have an imperial nativity, and to carry about with him a map of the world upon parchment, with the speeches of kings and generals extracted out of *Titus Livius*; and for giving his slaves the names of *Mago* and *Annibal*: *Sallustius Lucullus*, lieutenant of Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called "Lu-

cullean." Junius Rusticus, for publishing a treatise in praise of Pætus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them both "most upright men." Upon this occasion, he likewise banished all the philosophers from the city and Italy. He put to death the younger Helvidius, for reflecting, in a farce prepared by him for the stage, under the persons of Paris and Cœnone, upon his divorcing his wife; and also Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the Consular election into that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, declared him to the people not Consul, but Emperor. Becoming still more savage, after his success in the civil war, he employed his utmost industry to discover those of the adverse party that absconded; many of them he racked with a new invented torture, by introducing fire into their bowels; and from some, he cut off their hands. It is certain, that only two of any note were pardoned; a Laticlavian Tribune and a Centurion, who, to clear themselves from the charge of being concerned in any rebellious design, proved themselves to have been guilty of prostitution, and therefore such as could have no sway either with the general or soldiers.

XI. His cruelty was not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucified a collector of his rents, he sent for him into his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away well pleased, and, so far as could be inferred from his treatment, in a state of perfect security; having vouchsafed him the favor of a plate of meat from his own table. When he was upon the point of condemning to death Aretinus Clemens, a man of Consular rank, and one of his friends and spies, he retained him about his person in the same or greater favor than ever; until at last, as they
were

were riding together in the same chair, upon seeing the man that had informed against him, "Shall we hear," said he, "this wicked slave tomorrow?" To abuse the patience of men in a way that discovered his contempt of them, he never pronounced sentence of death, without prefacing it by such a discourse as gave hopes of mercy; so that, at last, there was not a more certain token of a fatal conclusion, than a mild commencement. He brought before the Senate some persons accused of treason, and declared, "that he should that day evince how dear he was to the Senate." The result was, he so influenced the house, that they quickly condemned them to be punished according to ancient usage. Then, as if alarmed at the dismal severity of the punishment, to qualify the odiousness of the proceeding, he interposed in these words; for I think it proper to give them precisely as they were delivered: "Permit me, Conscrip't Fathers, so far to prevail upon your affection for me, however extraordinary the request may seem, as to grant the condemned criminals the favor of dying in the manner they like best. For by so doing, ye will spare your own eyes, and the world will understand that I was present in the house at their condemnation."

XII. Having exhausted the exchequer by the expence of his buildings and public diversions for the entertainment of the people, with the augmentation of pay lately granted to the soldiery, that he might alleviate this charge, he made an attempt at the reduction of the army. But reflecting, that he should, by this measure, be more exposed to the insults of the barbarians, and yet not sufficiently enabled to extricate himself from his embarrassments, he had recourse to the plundering of his subjects by every mode of exaction. The estates of the living
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and the dead were seized, upon any accusation, and by whomsoever produced. The unsupported allegation of any one person, relative to a word or action construed to affect the dignity of the emperor, was sufficient. Estates, belonging to such as were no ways allied to him, were brought into the exchequer, if there was found so much as one person to say, he had heard from the deceased when living, "that he had made the emperor his heir." Above all others, the Jews were miserably harassed by the confiscation of their estates; those in particular, who, declining to give in their names to the exchequer as Jews, yet lived after the manner of Jews; or who, concealing their original, did not pay the tribute which had been imposed upon that nation. I remember, when I was a youth, to have been present, where a man of ninety years of age was turned up to view by a procurator in a full court, to see whether he was circumcised. He was from his earliest years of a forward assuming disposition, and extravagant both in words and actions. When Cænis, his father's concubine, upon her return from Istria, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her with his hand. Taking it as a disparagement of his own dignity, that his brother's son-in-law should be attended at table by waiters dressed in white, he cried out, "Let us have no more princes than one."

XIII. After he came to be emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the Senate, "that he had given the empire to his father and brother, which they had returned him. And upon taking his wife again, after the divorce, he declared by proclamation, "that he had recalled her to his pulvinar." He was not a little pleased too, to hear the people cry out in the amphitheatre upon a feast day, "All happiness to our Lord and Lady." At the

celebration of the Capitoline solemnity, though the whole body of the people begged of him with one voice to restore Palfurius Sura, who had long before been expelled the Senate, but then carried away the prize of eloquence from all the orators who had contended; he did not so much as vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded them by means of the crier to be silent. With the like arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus: "Our Lord and God commands so and so;" whence it became a custom to style him constantly in the same manner, both in writing and conversation. He suffered no statues to be erected for him in the Capitol, but of gold and silver, and of a certain weight. He built such large posts and arches, and so many of them, with chariots and four, and other triumphal ornaments upon them, in different quarters of the city, that one of them had inscribed upon it, "Enough." He bore the office of Consul seventeen times, which nobody had ever done before him, and for the seven middle turns successively; but scarcely in any of them had he more than the title; for he never continued in office beyond the Calends of May, and for the most part only to the Ides of January. After his two triumphs, assuming the name of Germanicus, he called the months of September and October from himself Germanicus and Domitian, because he commenced his reign in one, and was born in the other.

XIV. Becoming by these means terrible and odious to every body, he was at last taken off by a conspiracy of his friends and favorite freedmen, in concert with his wife. He had for a long time a suspicion of the year and day when he should die, nay of the very hour and manner

manner of his death ; all which he had learned from the Chaldæans, when he was a very young man. His father once at supper laughed at him for refusing to eat some mushrooms before him, as ignorant of his fate, in not rather fearing the sword. Being therefore in perpetual apprehension and anxiety, he was extremely alarmed with every little suspicion, insomuch that he is thought to have dropped the proclamation which he intended, relative to the destruction of the vines, chiefly because he understood that the following distich was written upon the edict :

Κὴν με φαγῆς ἐπὶ ρίζαν ὅμως ἐτι καρποφορήσω,
 Ὅσπου ἐπισπείσῃς Καίσαρι θυομένῳ.

Gnaw thou my root, yet shall my juice suffice
 To pour on Cæsar's head in sacrifice.

It was from the same principle of fear, that he refused a new honor, devised and offered him by the Senate, though he was fond of all such. It was this, “ that as often as he held the Consulship, Roman knights chosen by lot should walk before him, amongst his officers and serjeants, dressed in the Trabeæ, with lances in their hands.” As the time of the danger which he apprehended drew near, he became daily more and more disturbed in mind ; insomuch that he lined, in various places, the walls of the portico where he used to walk, with the stone called Phengites, by the reflection of which he could see every object behind him. He seldom gave any prisoners an audience but in private, and alone, holding their chains in his hand. To convince his domestics, that the life of a patron was not to be attempted upon any pretext, however plausible, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his Master of Requests, because it was believed that Nero, in his forlorn condition, had been assisted by his hand to kill himself.

XV. Finally

XV. Finally, Flavius Clemens his cousin-german, a man contemptible for his indolence, whose sons, then of very tender age, he had avowedly destined for his successors, and, taking from them their former names, had ordered one to be called Vespasian, and the other Domitian, he suddenly put to death upon some very slight suspicion, almost before the father was well out of his Consulship. By this violent act he very much hastened his own destruction. During eight months together there was so much lightning at Rome, and accounts of the phænomena from other parts, that at last he cried out, "Let him now strike whom he will." The Capitol was damaged by lightning, as also the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine-house, and his own bed-chamber. The title too upon the base of a triumphal statue of him was taken off by a storm, and fell upon a neighbouring monument. The tree, which, before the advancement of Vespasian, had been overthrown, and rose again, then all on a sudden fell down once more. The Goddess Fortune at Præneste, who, upon his imploring on the first of January her favor for the ensuing year, had ever been used to give him an acceptable answer, at last returned him one of the opposite nature, not without mention of blood. He dreamt that Minerva, whom he worshipped even to a superstitious excess, was withdrawing from her chapel, declaring she could protect him no longer, because she was disarmed by Jupiter: Nothing however so much affected him as an answer given him by Ascleterio the astrologer, and a subsequent disaster. This person had been informed against, and did not deny his having spoken of some future events, of which, from the principles of his art, he confessed he had a fore-knowledge. Domitian asked him, what end he thought he should

should come to himself? to which he replying, "I shall in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs," he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried. But during the preparations for executing this order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and his body, half-burnt, was torn to pieces by dogs; which being observed by the mimic Latinus, as he chanced to pass that way, he told it, amongst other occurrences of the day, to the emperor at supper.

XVI. The day before his death, he ordered some mushrooms, served up at table, to be kept until the next day, adding, "If I may be permitted to use them." And turning to those who were nearest him, he said, "Tomorrow the moon will be all bloody in Aquarius, and an action will happen, that will be much talked of all the world over." About midnight, he was so terrified that he leaped out of bed. That morning he heard the cause of a soothsayer, sent from Germany, who being consulted about the great lightning that had happened, predicted from it a change of government, and passed sentence of death upon him. The blood running down his face upon his scratching an ulcerous tumor on his forehead, he said, "Would this was all that is to befall me!" Then upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five o'clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they purposely told him it was six. Overjoyed at this information, as if all danger was now passed, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius who had the charge of his bed-chamber prevented him, by telling him, that there was one come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, which would admit of no delay. Upon this, ordering
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all persons to withdraw, he retired into his bed-chamber, and was there slain.

XVII. With respect to the contrivance and execution of his death, the common account is this. The conspirators being in some doubt when and where they should attack him, whether while he was in the bath, or at supper, Stephanus, a steward of Domitilla's, then under a prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance; and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and bandages for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the very hour appointed for the execution of the plot, he made use of this farther stratagem. He pretended to make a discovery of a plot, and being for that reason admitted, he presented to the emperor a writing, which whilst the latter was reading with the appearance of one astonished, he stabbed him in the groin. But Domitian making resistance, Clodianus, one of his chamberlains, Maximus a freedman of Parthenius's, Saturius a superintendent of his bed-chamber, with some gladiators, fell upon him, and stabbed him in seven places. A boy that had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, then in attendance as usual, when the transaction was over, gave this farther account of it: that he was ordered by Domitian, upon receiving his first wound, to reach him a dagger which lay under his bolster, and call in his servants; but that he found nothing at the head of the bed, excepting the hilt of a poniard, and that all the doors were secured: that the emperor in the mean time got hold of Stephanus, and throwing him upon the ground, struggled a long time with him; one while endeavoring to wrench his sword from him, another while, though his fingers were miserably mangled, to pull out his eyes. He was slain upon
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the fourteenth of the Calends of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out upon a common bier by the public bearers, and buried by his nurse Phyllis, on an estate which had belonged to him by the Latin way, not far from Rome. But his remains were afterwards privately conveyed into the temple of the Flavian family, and mixed with the ashes of Julia, Titus's daughter, whom the same woman had likewise nursed.

XVIII. He was of a tall stature, a modest countenance, and very ruddy; had large eyes, but dim-sighted. His person was graceful, and in his youth completely such, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward. He was at last disfigured by baldness, a fat belly, and the slenderness of his legs, which were reduced by a long illness. He was so sensible how much the modesty of his countenance recommended him, that he once made this boast to the Senate, "Thus far you have approved of my disposition and countenance too." He was so much concerned at his baldness, that he took it as an affront upon himself, if any other person was upbraided with it, either in jest or earnest; though in a small tract he published, addressed to a friend, "concerning the preservation of the hair," he uses for their common consolation the words following:

Ουχ ὄραας οἶος καὶ γὰρ καλοῖστε μεγαῖτε ;

Look, and behold my noble, graceful state :

In shape how handsome ! and in size how great !

"and yet my hair has had the same fate : however, I bear with fortitude this early declining state of my hair, considering that nothing is more agreeable than beauty, but nothing of shorter continuance."

XIX. He

XIX. He was so incapable of bearing fatigue, that he scarcely ever walked the city on foot. In his expeditions and on a march, he seldom made use of a horse, riding generally in a chair. He had no inclination for the exercise of arms, but was fond of the bow. Many have seen him kill a hundred wild beasts, of various kinds, at his seat near Alba, and strike his arrows into their heads with such dexterity, that he would, at two discharges of his bow, plant as it were a pair of horns upon them. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, and expanded as a mark for him, with such exactness, that they all passed betwixt his fingers without hurting him.

XX. In the beginning of his reign, he laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore, at a vast expence, the libraries which had been burnt down, by collecting copies from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy or correct from the repository of books at that place. Yet he never applied himself to the reading of history or poetry, or to exercise his pen for his own improvement. He read nothing but the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar. His letters, speeches, and proclamations, were all drawn up for him by others, though he would talk speciously, and sometimes express himself in sentiments worthy of notice. "I could wish," said he once, "that I was but as handsome as Metius fancies himself to be." And the head of one whose hair was part yellow and part grey, he said "was snow sprinkled with mead."

XXI. He said "the condition of princes was very miserable, who were never credited in the discovery of a plot, until they were murdered." When he had no bu-

finess, he diverted himself at play, even upon days that were not festivals, and in the morning. He entered the bath by noon, and made a plentiful dinner, infomuch that he seldom ate more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a small draught of wine, out of a round-bellied jug which he used. He gave frequent and splendid entertainments, but commonly in a hurry, for he never protracted them beyond sun-set, and had no drinking repast after. For, until bed-time, he did nothing else but walk by himself in private.

XXII. He was extremely addicted to lewdness. Frequent commerce with women, as if it was a sort of exercise, he called bed-wrestling; and he was reported to have connexion with the vilest prostitutes, as well as to swim amongst them. His brother's daughter was offered him in marriage when she was a virgin; but he being at that time engaged with Domitia, obstinately refused her. Yet not long after, when she was given away to another, he debauched her, and that whilst Titus was living. But after she had lost both her father and her husband, he loved her most passionately and avowedly; infomuch that he was the occasion of her death, by obliging her to have recourse to violent means for promoting the miscarriage of a child which she had conceived by her late husband.

XXIII. The people bore his death with much unconcern, but the soldiery with great indignation, and immediately endeavored to have him ranked amongst the Gods. Though ready to revenge his death, however, they wanted some person to head them; but this they effected soon after, by resolutely demanding the punishment of all those that had been concerned in his assassination. On the other hand, the Senate was so overjoyed, that they assembled

bled in all haste, and in a full house reviled his memory in the most bitter terms; ordering ladders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be pulled down before their eyes, and dashed in pieces upon the spot against the ground; passing at the same time a decree to 'obliterate his titles every where, and abolish all memory of him for ever. A few months before he was slain, a crow spoke in the Capitol these words, "All things will be well." Upon this prodigy, some person put the following construction:

Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedit culmine cornix,
'Eft bene,' non potuit dicere; dixit, 'Erit.'

The crow, which late on Tarpey one might see,
Could not say, all was well, but said, 'twill be.

They say likewise that Domitian dreamt he had a golden hump grow out of the back of his neck, which he considered as a certain sign of happy days for the empire after him. Such an auspicious change indeed shortly after happened, by the justice and moderation of the following emperors.

IF we view Domitian in the different lights in which he is represented, during his life-time and after his decease, his character and conduct discover a greater diversity than is commonly observed in the objects of historical detail. But as posthumous character is always the most just, its decisive verdict affords the surest criterion by which this variegated emperor must be estimated by impartial posterity. According to this rule, it is beyond a doubt, that his vices were more predominant than his virtues: and when we follow him into his closet, for

some time after his accession, when he was thirty years of age, the frivolity of his daily employment, in the killing of flies, exhibits an instance of dissipation, which surpasses all that has been recorded of his imperial predecessors. The encouragement, however, which the first Vespasian had shown to literature, continued to operate during the present reign; and we behold the first fruits of its auspicious influence in the valuable treatise of Quintilian.

Of the life of this celebrated writer, little is known upon any authority that has a title to much credit. We

M. Fabius Quintilianus. learn, however, that he was the son of a lawyer in the service of some of the preceding emperors, and was born at Rome; though in what Consulship, or under what emperor, it is impossible to determine. He married a woman of a noble family, by whom he had two sons. The mother died in the flower of her age, and the sons, at the distance of some time from each other, when their father was advanced in years. The precise time of Quintilian's own death is equally inauthentic with that of his birth; nor can we rely upon an author of suspicious veracity, who says that he passed the latter part of his life in a state of indigence, which was alleviated by the liberality of his pupil Pliny the Younger. Quintilian opened a school of Rhetoric at Rome, where he not only discharged that laborious employment with great applause, during more than twenty years, but pleaded at the bar, and was the first who obtained a salary from the state, for executing the office of a public teacher. He was also appointed by Domitian, preceptor to the two young princes, who were intended to succeed him on the throne.

After his retirement from the situation of a teacher, Quintilian devoted his attention to the study of literature, and composed a treatise on the Causes of the Corruption of Eloquence. At the earnest solicitation of his friends, he was afterwards induced to undertake his *Institutiones Oratoriæ*, the most elaborate and most perfect system of oratory extant in any language. This work is divided into twelve books, in which the author treats with great precision of the qualities of a perfect orator; explaining not only the fundamental principles of eloquence, as connected with the constitution of the human mind, but evincing, both by argument and observation, the most successful method of exercising that admirable art, for the accomplishment of its purpose. So minutely, and upon so extensive a plan, has he prosecuted the subject, that he delineates the education suitable to a perfect orator, from the stage of infancy in the cradle, to the consummation of rhetorical fame, in the pursuits of the bar, or those, in general, of any public assembly. It is sufficient to say, that, in the execution of this elaborate work, Quintilian has called to the assistance of his own acute and comprehensive understanding, the profound penetration of Aristotle, the exquisite graces of Cicero; all the stores of observation, experience and practice; and in a word, the whole accumulated exertions of ancient genius on the subject of oratory.

It may justly be regarded as an extraordinary circumstance in the progress of scientific improvement, that the endowments of a perfect orator were never fully exhibited to the world, until it had become dangerous to exercise them for the important purposes for which they were originally cultivated. And it is no less remarkable,

that, under all the violence and caprice of imperial despotism which the Romans had now experienced, their sensibility to the enjoyment of poetical compositions remained still unabated ; as if it served to console the nation for the irretrievable loss of public liberty. From this source of entertainment, they reaped more pleasure during the present reign, than they had done since the time of Augustus. The poets of this period were Juvenal, Statius, and Martial.

Juvenal was born at Aquinum, but in what year is uncertain ; though, from some circumstances, it seems to have been in the reign of Augustus.

*Decius Junius
Juvenalis.*

Some say that he was the son of a freedman, while others, without specifying the condition of his father, relate only that he was brought up by a freedman. He came at an early age to Rome, where he declaimed for many years, and pleaded causes in the Forum with great applause ; but at last, he betook himself to the writing of Satires, in which he acquired great fame. One of the first, and the most constant object of his satire, was the pantomime Paris, the great favorite of the emperor Nero, and afterwards of Domitian. During the reign of the former of these emperors, no resentment was shown towards the poet ; but he experienced not the same impunity after the accession of the latter ; when, to remove him from the capital, he was sent as governor to the frontiers of Egypt, but in reality, into an honorable exile. According to some authors, he died of chagrin in that province : but this is not authenticated, and seems to be a mistake : for in some of Martial's Epigrams, which appear to have been written after the death of Domitian, Juvenal is spoken of as residing at Rome.

Rome. It is said that he lived to upwards of eighty years of age.

The remaining compositions of this author are sixteen Satires, all written against the dissipation and enormous vices which prevailed at Rome in his time. The various objects of animadversion are painted in the strongest colors, and placed in the most conspicuous points of view. Giving loose reins to just and moral indignation, Juvenal is every where animated, vehement, petulant, and incessantly acrimonious. Disdaining the more lenient modes of correction, or despairing of their success, he neither adopts the raillery of Horace, nor the derision of Persius, but prosecutes vice and folly with all the severity of sentiment, passion, and expression. He sometimes exhibits a mixture of humor with his invectives; but it is a humor which partakes more of virulent rage than of pleasantry; broad, hostile, unchastised, and equalling, in respect of indelicacy, the profligate manners which it assails. The Satires of Juvenal abound in philosophical apophthegms; and, where they are not sullied by obscene description, are supported with a uniform air of virtuous elevation. Amidst all the intemperance of sarcasm, his numbers are harmonious. Had his zeal permitted him to direct the current of his impetuous genius into the channel of ridicule, and endeavor to put to shame the vices and follies of those licentious times, as much as he perhaps exasperated conviction, rather than excited contrition, he would have carried Satire to the highest possible pitch, both of literary excellence and moral utility. With every abatement of attainable perfection, we hesitate not to place him at the head of this arduous department of poetry.

Biography has preserved no farther particulars of Statius than that he was born at Naples ; that his father's name was Statius, of Epirus, and his mother's Agelina, and that he died about the year one hundred of the Christian æra.

*P. Papinius
Statius.*

Some have conjectured that he maintained himself by writing for the stage : but of this there is no sufficient evidence ; and if he ever composed dramatic productions, they have perished. The works of Statius, now extant, are two poems, viz. the *Thebais*, and the *Achilleis*, besides a collection, named *Silvæ*.

The *Thebais* consists of twelve books, and the subject of it is the Theban war, which happened 1236 years before the Christian æra, in consequence of a dispute between Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Œdipus and Jocasta. These brothers had entered into an agreement with each other to reign alternately for a year at a time ; and Eteocles being the elder, got first possession of the throne. This prince refusing to abdicate at the expiration of the year, Polynices fled to Argos, where marrying Argia, the daughter of Adrastus, king of that country, he procured the assistance of his father-in-law, to enforce the engagement stipulated with his brother Eteocles. The Argives marched under the command of seven able generals, who were to attack separately the seven gates of Thebes. After much blood had been spilt without any effect, it was at last agreed between the two parties, that the brothers should determine the dispute by single combat. In the desperate engagement which ensued, they both fell ; and being burnt together upon the funeral pile, it is said that their ashes separated, as if actuated by the implacable resentment which they had borne to each other.

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If we except the *Æneid*, this is the only Latin production extant which is epic in its form; and it likewise approaches nearest in merit to that celebrated poem, which Statius appears to have been ambitious of emulating. In unity and greatness of action, the *Thebais* corresponds to the laws of the *Epopœa*; but the fable may be regarded as defective in some particulars, which, however, arise more from the nature of the subject, than from any fault of the poet. The distinction of the hero is not sufficiently prominent; and the poem possesses not those circumstances which are requisite towards interesting the reader's affections in the issue of the contest. To this it may be added, that the unnatural complexion of the incestuous progeny diffuses a kind of gloom, which obscures the splendor of thought, and restrains the sympathetic indulgence of fancy to some of the boldest excursions of the poet. For grandeur, however, and animation of sentiment and description, as well as for harmony of numbers, the *Thebais* is eminently conspicuous, and deserves to be held in a much higher degree of estimation than it has generally obtained. In the contrivance of some of the episodes, and frequently in the modes of expression, Statius keeps an attentive eye to the conduct of Virgil. It is said that he was twelve years employed in the composing of this poem; and we have his own authority for affirming, that he polished it with all the care and assiduity practised by the poets in the Augustan age:

*Quippe, te fido monitore, nostra
Thebais multâ cruciata limâ
Tentat audaci fide Mantuanæ
Gaudia famæ.*

SILVAR. LIB. iv. 7.

The

The *Achilleïs* relates to the same hero who is celebrated by Homer in the *Iliad*: but it is the previous history of Achilles, not his conduct in the Trojan war, which forms the subject of this poem. While the young hero is under the care of the Centaur Chiron, Thetis makes a visit to the preceptor's sequestered habitation, where, to save her son from the fate which, it was predicted, would befall him at Troy, if he should go the siege of that place, she orders him to be dressed in the disguise of a woman, and sent to live in the family of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. But as Troy could not be taken without the aid of Achilles, Ulysses, accompanied by Diomed, is deputed by the Greeks to go to Scyros, and bring him thence to the Grecian camp. The artifice by which the sagacious ambassador detected Achilles amongst his female companions, was by placing before them various articles of merchandise, amongst which was some armor. Achilles no sooner perceived the latter, than he eagerly seized in his hand a sword and shield, and manifesting the strongest emotions of heroic enthusiasm, discovered his sex. After an affectionate parting with Lycomedes's daughter Deïdamia, whom he left pregnant of a son, he set sail with the Grecian chiefs, and, during the voyage, gives them an account of the manner of his education with Chiron.

This poem consists of two books, in heroic measure, and is written with taste and fancy. Commentators are of opinion, that the *Achilleïs* was left incomplete by the death of the author; but this is extremely improbable, from various circumstances, and appears to be founded only upon the word *Hactenus*, in the conclusion of the poem:

*Hætenus annorum, comites, elementa meorum
Et memini, & meminisse juvat: scit cætera mater.*

That any consequential reference was intended by *Hætenus*, seems to be plainly contradicted by the words which immediately follow, *Scit cætera mater*. Statius could not propose the giving any farther account of Achilles's life, because a general narrative of it had been given in the first book. The voyage from Scyros to the Trojan coast, conducted with the celerity which suited the purpose of the poet, admitted of no incidents which required description or recital; and after the voyagers had reached the Grecian camp, it is reasonable to suppose, that the action of the *Iliad* immediately commenced. But that Statius had no design of extending the plan of the *Achilleïs* beyond this period, is expressly declared in the exordium of the poem :

*Magnanimum Æaciden, formidatamque Tonanti
Progeniem; & patrio vetitam succedere cælo,
Divæ, refer; quanquam acta viri multum inclyta cantu
Mæonio; sed plura vacant. Nos ire per omnem
(Sic amor est) heroa velis, Scyroque latentem
Dulichîâ proferre tubâ: nec in bestiore tracto
Sistere, sed totâ juvenem deducere Trojâ.*

The *Silvæ* is a collection of poems, almost entirely in heroic verse, divided into five books, and for the most part written extempore. Statius himself affirms, in his Dedication to Stella, that the production of none of them employed him more than two days; yet many of them consist of between one hundred and two hundred hexameter lines: we meet with one, of two hundred and sixteen lines; one, of two hundred and thirty-four; one, of two hundred and sixty-two; and one of two hundred and seventy-seven; a rapidity of composition approach-

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ing to what Horace mentions of the poet Lucilius. It is no small encomium to observe, that, considered as extemporaneous productions, the meanest in the collection is far from meriting censure, either in point of sentiment or expression; and many of them contain passages which extort our applause.

This poet, surnamed likewise *Coquus*, was born at Bilbilis, in Spain, of obscure parents. At the age of twenty-one, he came to Rome, where he lived during five and thirty years, under the emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, the two Vespasians, Domitian, Nerva, and the beginning of the reign of Trajan. He was the panegyrist of several of those emperors, by whom he was liberally rewarded, raised to the Equestrian Order, and promoted by Domitian to the Tribuneship; but being treated with coldness and neglect by Trajan, he returned to his native country, and, a few years after, ended his days, at the age of seventy-five. He had lived at Rome in great splendor and affluence, as well as in high esteem for his poetical talents; but upon his return to Bilbilis, it is said that he experienced a great reverse of fortune, and was chiefly indebted, for his support, to the gratuitous benefactions of Pliny the Younger, whom he had extolled in some epigrams.

The poems of Martial consist of fourteen books, all written in the epigrammatic form, to which species of composition, introduced by the Greeks, he had a peculiar propensity. Amidst such a multitude of verses, on a variety of subjects, often composed extempore, and many of them, probably, in the moments of fashionable dissipation, it is not surprising that we find a large number

ber unworthy the genius of the author. Delicacy, and even decency, is often violated in the productions of Martial. Grasping at every thought which afforded even the shadow of ingenuity, he gave unlimited scope to the exercise of an active and fruitful imagination. In respect to composition, he is likewise liable to censure. At one time he wearies, and at another, tantalises the reader, with the prolixity or ambiguity of his preambles. His prelusive sentiments are sometimes far-fetched, and converge not with a natural declination into the focus of epigram. In the dispensation of praise and censure, he often seems to be governed more by prejudice or policy, than by justice and truth; and he is more constantly attentive to the production of wit, than the improvement of morality.

But while we remark the blemishes and imperfections of this poet, we must acknowledge his extraordinary merits. In composition he is, in general, elegant and correct; and where the subject is capable of connection with sentiment, his inventive ingenuity never fails to extract from it the essence of delight and surprise. His fancy is prolific of beautiful images, and his judgement expert in arranging them to the greatest advantage. He bestows panegyric with inimitable grace, and satirises with equal dexterity. In a fund of Attic salt, he surpasses every other writer; and though he seems to have at command all the varied stores of gall, he is not destitute of candor. With almost every kind of versification he appears to be familiar; and amidst a facility of temper, too accommodating, perhaps, on many occasions, to the licentiousness of the times, we may venture from strong indications to pronounce, that, as a moralist, his principles were virtuous. It is observed of this author, by
Pliny

Pliny the Younger, that, though his compositions might, perhaps, not obtain immortality, he wrote as if they would. *Æterna, quæ scripsit, non erunt fortasse : ille tamen scripsit tanquam futura.* The character which Martial himself gives of his Epigrams, is just and comprehensive :

*Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura,
Quæ legis : hic aliter non fu, Arvite, liber.*

THE END.







